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ABSTRACT

This document summarizes a comprehensive planning effort for the Baltimore area aimed at developing a constructive new approach for dealing with a major manpower and community problem: the situation of young high school dropouts. The program is predicated on the hypotheses that: (1) dropouts do not routinely receive counseling and referral services once they leave school; (2) dropouts live in an environment where information and guidance about training and employment opportunities are extremely limited; and (3) systematic and continuous attention to dropouts' employment, education and training needs during late adolescence would enhance their employability and enable them to lead more productive adult lives. The report gives details on available public school and community resources for dropouts in Baltimore; presents findings from a survey of Baltimore dropouts; and outlines a continuing support and referral system, including a proposed evaluation strategy. After completing their preliminary work, the authors conclude by arguing strongly that a program such as the one proposed is worth testing. (Author)

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ESTABLISHING A CONTINUOUS TRAINING/EMPLOYMENT REFERRAL AND SUPPORT SYSTEM FOR DROPOUTS:

REPORT ON A PLANNING EFFORT

The material in this project was prepared under Grant No. 21-11-77-15 from the Employment and Training Administration U. S. Department of Labor, under the authority of Title III, Part B, of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act of 1973. Researchers undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment. Therefore, points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent the official position or policy of the Department of Labor.

Submitted to:

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FOREWORD

This document summarizes a comprehensive planning effort aimed at developing a constructive new approach for dealing with a major manpower and community problem: the situation of young high school dropouts. The project was initiated by BSSR in the summer of 1976 and supported in large part by the Office of Research and Development of the Employment and Training Administration, U. S. Department of Labor.

We wish to acknowledge the outstanding cooperation we received from responsible officials in the city of Baltimore, In particular, we are deeply indebted to Robert W. Armacost, Deputy Superintendant for Planning, Research and Evaluation of the Baltimore City Public Schools, and to Marion W. Pines and Robert Ivry of the Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources. Without their consistent support, this planning task could not have been accomplished.

Throughout the project, we benefited greatly from the ideas, advice, and encouragement provided by Dr. Howard Rosen and Ms. Diane Edwards of the Office of Research and Development, Employment and Training Administration, U. S. Department of Labor.

A number of BSSR staff members participated in the Baltimore field work and contributed to this report. Chapter II is the work of John Weidman and Neil Bomberg; the latter also wrote Chapter III and assisted in the preparation of Chapter V. Carol Greenhouse wrote Chapter IV. Important contributions also came from Elizabeth Shelburne and Gail Rothberg.

Although at this time there are no definitive plans for implementation, it is our hope that the proposed program and research will be tested in a field setting--in Baltimore or elsewhere--in the not-too-distant future.

Laure M. Sharp
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Project Co-Directors

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During 1977, The Bureau of Social Science Research engaged in a variety of activities in order to lay the groundwork for a research and demonstration project designed to test the usefulness of a new approach for dealing with the needs of low-income high school dropouts.

The stimulus for the project came from the observations and ideas of a number of persons (in the Department of Labor and in BSSR) who were concerned not so much with dropout prevention (a topic to which much research and experimentation has been devoted in the past 30 years) but with the fate of those youngsters who had left the schools (or in some cases been expelled by them). Most of them are between the ages of 16 and 19. Although quite a few younger students also stop attending school, in most jurisdictions it is illegal for them to do so and the school systems have a responsibility to monitor their attendance or approve alternative arrangements for their schooling.

The extent to which dropping out of high school confers a distinct disadvantage on inner city youths is a subject of some debate. There are those who feel that, on balance, such youngsters are better off if they stop attending classes from which they do not benefit and in which they experience frustrations. Some evidence in the research literature supports this point of view. Others maintain that, given the dismal employment prospects for all youths and especially for inner city minorities, the incremental benefits of high school completion are negligible or non-existent for this group. Insofar as one can judge from available aggregate statistics, this does not seem to be the case, although it is true that high school graduation does not seem to benefit minority youngsters to the same extent that it does their contemporaries who happen to be white. On balance, while dropout prevention should be a high priority social goal, it seems neither realistic nor desirable to aim for the eradication of the dropout phenomenon.

There can be little doubt, on the other hand, that the situation of young people who leave school prior to graduation is a particularly vulnerable one. Once they leave school, they are no longer under the supervision--however perfunctory at times--of the school system and they no longer have access to the formal and informal resources available to students such as counseling, organized extracurricular activities, and career information conveyed through school-centered programs. Yet, given their young age and the paucity of home resources for many in this group, the need for some systematic attention to their needs suggests itself strongly. It is unlikely that many of these youngsters have the information or resources to explore some of the constructive alternatives to schooling which are available in every community. It is even less likely that they will obtain other types of guidance and help which might improve their life chances, such as sex education or psychological counseling. Ironically, since no community agency has a responsibility for dropouts for whom school attendance is no longer compulsory, it is likely that their needs will only be attended to if they develop serious problems and come in contact with a public health, welfare, or criminal justice agency, a situation which earlier attention might have obviated.

These were the concerns which prompted the conceptualization of a continuous referral and support system. Some agency--public or private, integrated with the school system or independent of it, staffed by volunteers or by paid employees--was to be assigned a continuous responsibility for an experimental group of dropouts. Having been assigned this formal responsibility, the agency would provide information and guidance on education, training and employment opportunities, as well as more general forms of personal support. The program would attempt to maintain contact with each dropout until such time as s/he becomes self-sufficient.

In summary, the program is predicated on the hypotheses that (1) dropouts do not routinely receive counseling and referral services once they leave school; (2) dropouts live in an environment where information and guidance about training and employment opportunities are extremely limited; and (3) systematic and continuous attention to dropouts' employment, education and training needs during late adolescence

would enhance their employability and enable them to lead more productive adult lives.

It was our goal to design a program of this type for a major metropolitan area with a large dropout population, structuring it along sound experimental lines that permitted the evaluation of its effectiveness. However, many questions had to be answered before the feasibility of field testing such a program could be established. In particular:

- were definitions and records kept of dropouts in a way which was compatible with program and research needs?
- would a school system be interested in cooperating with this program, by making the names of dropouts available?
- were community resources available to which a support and referral system could send youngsters in needs of various services, such as testing, medical services, vocational training, etc.?
- was there a suitable community agency willing and able to sponsor and staff the project and a likely candidate for eventual takeover if the field test was effective as shown by the evaluation?

BSSR's preference was for a field-test location within easy commuting distance of Washington, D. C. After preliminary explorations in several jurisdictions, a decision was reached to center the planning effort on Baltimore, which has a large dropout population and a research-oriented school system which expressed great interest in the proposed field test. There were other attractions in Baltimore. In particular, The Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources (the prime sponsor for the CETA program in Baltimore) was actively involved in several alternative school programs for dropouts and seemed a logical candidate to administer a support and referral system.

In April 1977, BSSR was awarded a planning grant by the Employment and Training Administration of the Department of Labor and began systematic planning activities, which included a thorough literature review, an inventory of existing programatic opportunities available to dropouts in Baltimore, and an investigation of existing referral systems. In addition, we felt that it was essential to have from the outset some first-hand data to learn more about the goals, interests and activity patterns of students who had dropped out of Baltimore schools, and about their subsequent contacts with local agencies. A small survey of dropouts was conducted for this purpose during the summer of 1977. Finally,

because the tentative structure of the proposed program representated a novel and untested approach, we sought the views of a group of knowledgeable experts--from Baltimore and elsewhere--during a two-day meeting held in Columbia, Maryland on June 13 and 14, 1977.

In this report, each of these activities is described in greater detail. The final chapter summarizes what we have learned from these activities and why we now feel--perhaps more strongly than when this project was in its early, exploratory stage--that a program such as the one we are proposing seems eminently worth testing. The preliminary work we have done to date confirms one of the underlying hypotheses which prompted us to propose this project: while cities need considerably larger resources than they have available to meet the needs of all inner city youngsters--more jobs, more training slots, more targeted vocational and remedial education--equally important is the provision of guidance and help in finding and using those resources which already exist. Dealing with bureaucracies and with fragmented service delivery systems is difficult for most adults, and even more difficult for youngsters who have had little or no experience along these lines. Opportunities for personal counseling or guidance or information-gathering are rare for dropouts; their lives are frequently characterized by isolation and lack of adult contacts. Whether or not such opportunities would result in measurably more favorable long-run outcomes for this population remains to be established through research; that such opportunities do not now exist was clearly established in the planning phase.

CHAPTER II

SCHOOL DROPOUT: SYNTHESIS OF RELEVANT RESEARCH

While there is a wealth of literature on secondary school dropouts, no common thread or conceptual approach appears with any frequency in the research. The complexity of understanding fully the school dropout phenomenon is aptly described in the conclusions of a very comprehensive review of the then-extent literature on the topic that was published a decade ago by the National Education Association's Research Division:

> Research on the subject of early school withdrawal--its causes and its consequences--is abundant. Results of research are inconclusive and often not comparable, because of the design and conduct of the study, the population studied, or the bias of the investigator (Varner, 1967: 46).

The contributions of sociologists, educators, psychologists, and economists, each with somewhat different theoretical perspectives and methodologies, add to the breadth of the literature and to our understanding of the dropout phenomenon. However, this diversity of approaches makes synthesis of the existing research very difficult. Hence, our primary purpose in this chapter is to develop a systematic way of understanding the dropout phenomenon.

Because this literature review is oriented toward providing information upon which to base project planning and development, we sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the special problems of school dropouts that differentiate them from their contemporaries? We are especially interested in the consequences of dropping out for the adolescent in such areas as: (a) short- and longer-term economic status (e.g., labor force participation, unemployment, poverty, upward mobility, etc.); (b) access to educational and/or job training opportunities (probability of ultimately completing high school and going on for more advanced education, enrollment in vocational training programs, etc.); (c) delinquent behavior; and (d) responsibility for dependents resulting from pregnancy or paternity. In looking at data bearing on these sorts of issues, we are particularly interested in identifying special, cumulative deficits that may be attributable to dropping out.

2. What are some appropriate conceptual frameworks, both for understanding the dropout phenomenon and for planning programs aimed at coping with the special problems of dropouts? Because we are not orienting our efforts toward dropout prevention, but rather toward remediation of the special problems dropouts present, we are interested in examining the causes of dropout only insofar as they are relevant for program planning.

3. What are some of the other programs serving dropouts, and how successful have they been? We are interested in assessing both the results of other programs and the applicability for our own program development of features that have been proven effective. We are also interested in examining the extent to which other programs take into account current conceptualizations of the dropout phenomenon, particularly those frameworks explicitly utilizing notions concerning the mobilization of community resources in a systematic, integrated fashion.

Scope and Consequences

In addressing the first of our basic questions, we shall consider the scope and consequences of the dropout problem in terms of the proportions of given youth age cohort members dropping out of school, the socio-demographic characteristics of dropouts and their families, and the current and longer term prospects for the labor force participation and employment of school dropouts. So that we can be consistent in our use of U.S. Census statistics, we define dropout as an individual who is not enrolled in school and has not completed high school. We are most interested in youths between the ages of sixteen and nineteen, but we have included statistics for fourteen- through twenty-four-year-olds, depending upon the age categories used in the U.S. Census publications from which we obtained our figures.

Table 1 shows the school enrollment status of 16 to 24-year-old youths in 1975 by sex and race. As can be seen from the fifth column in this table, the percentage of dropouts among 18 to 24-year-old blacks is roughly twice as high as among their white counterparts. Within each racial group, there is no appreciable sex difference in dropout rates. Among the 16 and 17-year-olds, compulsory education laws apparently serve to keep most youths of both races in school. It should be noted, however, that dropping out does not foreclose entirely the possibility for an individual to eventually complete high school. Karweit (1977) presents data from a national sample of black

TABLE 1

ENROLLMENT STATUS OF 16 TO 24 YEAR-OLD YOUTHS IN THE CIVILIAN NONINSTITUTIONAL POPULATION BY AGE, SEX, RACE, AND SELECTED EDUCATIONAL CHARACTERISTICS: OCTOBER 1975[a]

	Population (In Thousands)	% Enrolled in School		% Not Enrolled in School	
		Below College Level	In College	High School Graduate	Not High School Graduate
White					
Male					
16-17 years	3,569	88.0	3.0	1.6	7.3
18-19 years	3,343	11.2	38.4	36.7	13.7
20-24 years	7,707	.6	26.5	59.5	13.4
Female					
16-17 years	3,474	83.4	4.1	2.9	9.6
18-19 years	3,512	5.6	37.9	40.9	15.6
20-24 years	8,141	.6	17.9	67.8	13.7
Black					
Male					
16-17 years	555	85.6	2.6	2.1	9.7
18-19 years	476	26.7	23.2	22.3	27.7
20-24 years	975	2.2	18.8	51.0	27.9
Female					
16-17 years	582	82,4	3.2	3.8	10.7
18-19 years	553	17.6	27.0	31.9	23.4
20-24 years	1,208	0.7	18.4	52.5	28.4

[a]Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 303, "School Enrollment-Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October, 1975" (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1976), Table 1.

and white males between the ages of fourteen and thirty showing that 26 percent of whites and 11 percent of blacks who had not completed high school when they entered the labor force later received more schooling, with most members of both groups completing high school or more. That the return rates are roughly twice as high for white males as for black males again suggests that the dropout problem is considerably more troublesome for black than for white youths.

Table 2, also based on 1975 data, shows the economic status of school dropouts' families, and is also broken down by race and sex. It should be noticed that the age range for this table is 14 to 17 years of age, rather than 16 to 24 years of age, because Census publications do not always use the same age breakdowns. These data illustrate the very striking relationship between family income and school dropout rates. According to Table 2, 14 to 17-year-old black school dropouts of both sexes come overwhelmingly (65%) from the very poorest (annual income less than $5,000) families. In contrast, only 20 percent of the white male youths and 31 percent of the white female youths who are school dropouts come from the very poorest families. At the high end of the family income spectrum, however, whites are considerably more likely to be school dropouts than blacks among this particular age cohort: forty percent of the white male and 25 percent of the white female dropouts come from families with annual incomes above $10,000. Comparable figures for black male and female dropouts shown in Table 2 are 6 percent and 11 percent. These figures indicate that, while school dropout among blacks occurs predominantly in poor families, among white youths the phenomenon is substantial among middle and upper income familes as well.

As might also be expected, there is an inverse relationship between another family socioeconomic characteristic, education of family head, and school dropout. Among youths 14 to 24-years-old who are school dropouts, 62 percent of whites and 74 percent of blacks were members of families in which the head had less than a high school education (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976a: Table 11).

In sum, the data presented in the foregoing suggest strongly that dropouts carry with them an accumulation of deficits, including families in poverty and headed by parents with low educational attainment, minority status, and lack of appropriate educational credentials. Since this multiple jeopardy can be expected to have a substantial impact on dropouts' labor

TABLE 2

ANNUAL FAMILY INCOME OF SCHOOL DROPOUTS 14 TO 17 YEARS OLD, BY RACE, AND SEX: OCTOBER 1975[a]
(In Percentages)

	Annual Family Income					Median
	Under 5,000	$5,000 to 9,999	$10,000 to 14,999	$15,000 and Over	Not Reported	
White						
Male	20.3	27.8	20.6	19.8	11.5	
Female	31.3	32.1	15.9	9.0	11.6	
Black						
Male	65.2	24.6	4.4	1.4	4.4	
Female	64.9	18.9	8.1	2.7	5.4	
All Families in U.S., 1975[b]						
White	10.2	20.5	22.7	46.6		$14,268
Black, Other	26.3	27.2	20.2	36.3		8,321

[a]Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 303, "School Enrollment-Social and Economic Characteristics of Students: October 1975" (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1976), Table 14.

[b]Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1976. 97th Edition. (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1976), Tables No. 648 and 650.

force experiences (labor force participation, unemployment, and earnings), we shall turn to some data bearing on these issues.

Despite a decrease in the relative number of dropouts within the population over the past twenty years, changes in the demands of the labor market for high educational and skills attainment have resulted in fewer employment possibilities for dropouts, and decreased the likelihood that dropouts can find work. As Whitmore (1976:47) points out, "participation in the labor force is strongly related to years of schooling completed." Furthermore, the employment prospects of dropouts are likely to decline even more:

> The trend to a better educated labor force likely will contribute to a continued deterioration of job prospects for young people who have less than a high school education. People who have not completed high school are employed mostly in blue-collar, private household, and farm occupations. As a whole, these occupations are expected to account for a decreasing share of the total jobs that become available in the economy during the 1974-85 period. Moreover, for the openings that do arise in these occupations, young people who do not have a high school education are likely to face growing competition from their peers who have more schooling (Carey, 1976:20).

In Table 3, we can see that unemployment rates of 16 to 24-year-old high school graduates are considerably lower than those of dropouts. Notice, too, that overall unemployment rates are twice as high for minority youth as for white youth. It is also striking that the labor force participation rates of whites are much higher than those for blacks. Presumably, this is an indication that blacks have been so discouraged by their search for work that they have stopped looking. For women, of course, labor force participation rates tend to be a function of remaining at home to care for children. Unemployment rates are much higher for all 16 to 19-year-olds than for 20 to 24-year-olds and about the same for all metropolitan areas, both inside and outside central cities (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1975: Table 11; not shown in tabular form here).

Further, while many high school students receive an introduction to the world of work through part-time jobs during the school year, dropouts are far less likely to have such experiences. One set of statistics (U.S. Department of Labor, 1960:74) indicate that while 70 percent of all high school graduates reported having work experience during their school years, only 39 percent of all dropouts had similar work experiences. This suggests that there is incomplete social integration of adolescent dropouts into <u>both</u> the school and the employment contexts even before their age peers who will not become dropouts have completed high school.

TABLE 3

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT OF THE CIVILIAN NONINSTITUTIONAL POPULATION 16 TO 24 YEARS OLD, BY FALL SCHOOL ENROLLMENT STATUS, SEX AND RACE: OCTOBER 1976[a]

	Enrolled in School		Not Enrolled in School			
			High School Graduates		Dropouts	
	Percent of 16-24 Population in Labor Force	Percent Unemployed	Percent In Labor Force	Percent Unemployed	Percent In Labor Force	Percent Unemployed
White						
Men	49.6	13.6	95.4	8.9	88.5	19.7
Women	46.9	11.2	75.8	10.9	46.6	26.9
Black and Other						
Men	32.7	26.2	86.1	22.0	73.6	31.5
Women	24.4	30.7	68.9	21.0	37.7	44.6

[a]Source: Ann McDougall Young, "Students, Graduates and Dropouts in the Labor Market, October 1976." Special Labor Force Report 200. U.S. Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1977), Tables B and K.

Despite higher unemployment rates among youthful dropouts than among their high school graduate counterparts, some researchers have found that employed dropouts tend to have higher weekly earnings than employed high school graduates (Coombs and Cooley, 1968; Bachman, et. al., 1971). These authors attribute this differential largely to greater job seniority for the employed dropouts due to their longer period of employment. However, these generalizations hold only for young workers in their late teens and early twenties. There is evidence indicating that, over a working lifetime, those who fail to complete four years of high school are subject to substantially lower lifetime and annual incomes than those who graduate from high school. For instance, estimated lifetime expected income in 1972 for males from age 18 to death who have one to three years of high school education was $389,000, while the similar figure for male high school graduates was $479,000, a 23 percent differential. Estimated lifetime incomes ranged from $280,000 for males with less than eight years of elementary school to $758,000 for males with four years or more of college (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1976b: Table No. 208). An even more telling differential is that the median annual income in 1975 for heads of households age 25 and older who have completed high school ($13,256) was 38 percent higher than for heads of households who have completed only one to three years of high school ($9,582). Median 1975 annual incomes for male household heads age 25 and older ranged from $5,518 for those with less than eight years of elementary school to $21,131 for those with five years or more of college (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1977: Table 12).

Teenage childbearing is an additional contingency that may be faced by dropouts. One ten-year longitudinal study (Hathaway, et al., 1969) suggested that girls who drop out of high school tended to have larger families, higher separation and divorce rates, and considerably more limited social mobility than girls who had graduated. Pregnancy, paternity and the responsibility for offspring may prevent both completion of school and movement into the labor force, as well as force the adolescent to shoulder full adult responsibilities before he or she is sufficiently mature for them. If one pregnancy follows another, these difficulties are compounded further. Dropouts who have childrearing responsibilities have the additional need for obtaining childcare resources if they are to

enter the labor force (Furstenberg, 1976). In short, teenage childbearing compounds the already serious consequences of dropping out of school.

Finally, we should note the concern for the burgeoning problems of vandalism, disturbances, thefts, and other sorts of crime occurring in schools (Wilson, 1976; Wolfgang, 1976), as well as violence by youth gangs in major metropolitan areas (Miller, 1975). The relationship between dropout and delinquent behavior is far from clear; one important contemporary study suggests, for instance, that dropouts engage in less delinquent behavior after dropping out of school than while enrolled (Elliott and Voss, 1974). For the purposes of this report, we are more concerned with the theoretical and conceptual underpinnings of the literature dealing with the sociology of juvenile delinquency than we are with disentangling the complex relationships between dropout and delinquent behavior.

In summary, the statistics presented in the foregoing illustrate both the general socio-demographic characteristics of school dropouts and their disadvantageous position in the labor market. Not only are dropouts presented with the short-term prospect of relatively high unemployment, but their earnings and employment prospects over a lifetime are considerably poorer than those of contemporaries who complete high school. Our exploration in this section also suggests that dropouts are more likely than school completeres to have the cumulative deficits of low income and minority family backgrounds, restricted access to the labor market, and early family responsibilities. All this points to a situation of multiple problems to be faced by the dropout. Lack of success in one social sphere tends to be accompanied by similar shortcomings in other spheres. Consequently, we feel that it is imperative that programs designed for dropouts provide some mediating mechanisms for helping the dropout to begin developing the capacity for more effective participation in problematic social spheres. This might include, in addition to assistance in gaining and/or maintaining employment, obtaining child care, marital and personal counseling, and more general social support and encouragement.

In the next section of this chapter, we shall develop a conceptual scheme for understanding the dropout phenomenon in terms of the social processes and institutional strains involved, so that we can identify problematic aspects of the dropout's linkages to employment and other community settings that might be important targets for program intervention.

A Conceptual Approach

We now turn to research dealing more specifically with the socio-emotional and social structural processes involved in dropping out so that we can gain a more complete, conceptually focused, understanding of the dropout phenomenon. Our underlying assumption is that dropouts from school are likely to face strains in other organizational settings they encounter, particularly jobs, that are similar to those that led them to leave school. Hence, it is important that programs be designed to include mechanisms for helping dropouts to cope with the strains and difficulties they encounter in education/training, employment, and other settings.

An illustration of the discontinuities in participation among various social contexts experienced by the dropout is provided in the following characteristics identified by Cervantes (1965: 198-199) as "commonly found among youth who are potential or actual dropouts:" (a) school--poor grades and achievement levels, irregular attendance, behavior problems, lack of participation in extracurricular activities, and isolation from school peers; (b) family--unhappy family situation, low parental education, and few ties to nonproblem family units; and (c) peers--friends not approved by parents, friends not school oriented, and friends not age-mates. The conceptual thread common to each of the school, family, and peer systems for the dropout is lack of social integration within each of these systems. Social integration refers to the social ties, both within and between groups, that contribute to members' attachment to those groups and to members' willingness to conform to group norms and expectations. Social group is an encompassing term that would include school, family, and peers, as well as job and other community groups. In general, the more fully integrated the groups within a society, the more stable the social structure of that society. In terms of individuals, social integration supports their endeavor in the various settings and activities common to daily life (Durkheim, 1951: 208-216).

In our view, a major shortcoming of dropout research is its limited treatment of factors external to the school that may also be significant for understanding the deviant behavior of students. While it is true that recent work (McPartland and McDill, 1976; Polk and Schafer, 1972) has re-emphasized the contribution to student delinquency

of such school-related factors as limited student participation in decision-making and large school size (both indirect indicators of potentially low social integration of students into the school environment), other studies stress the importance of family factors (Cervantes, 1965; Walberg, 1972; Duncan, 1965; Jensen, 1972). There is also a growing literature about the problems involved in the transition from school to work (Berg, 1972; Wolfbein, 1959; National Institute of Education, 1977; Stern, 1977; Freeman, 1976). Increasingly, things learned in school are seen as only minimally applicable to the demands of the workplace.

We are suggesting the scheme shown in Figure 1 as a comprehensive way of conceptualizing the dropout process that explicitly incorporates notions of social integration within and between settings. We owe a debt to the work of Tinto (1975) in that we use similar notions of social integration and goal commitments. However, a major departure of our work is that we are not looking at the educational institution as an encapsulated environment. Rather, we adhere to the notion that the general dropout process is dependent on the youth's integration into the community social structure, particularly the level of continuity among the demands of the school, family, and community contexts. Of crucial importance are the roles occupied by youths in all three general contexts, and the relationships between the youth and the significant others in those contexts. It is our assumption that the greater the youth's social integration into nondeviant social groups and contexts (both academic and community), and the more congruent the rewards of significant others within those social groups and contexts, the less likely the youth will be to exhibit deviant behavior (dropout and/or delinquency).

We are presenting this model for heuristic purposes, as a guide for program development. We wish to emphasize that efforts to deal with the consequences of school dropout, both for the individual and for the community, need to encompass more than one realm of adolescent activity. Problems in school tend to be closely related to problems in family and community. By focusing upon social integration, we can see that failure to meet normative expectations in school is also likely to be related to failure to meet expectations in normatively similar community settings, in particular, on the job. In fact, we might even argue that fundamental differences in the normative expectations held by the family and by the school are likely to be reflected in strain in other community activities. Hence, we need to be cognizant of this complexity and build mechanisms into

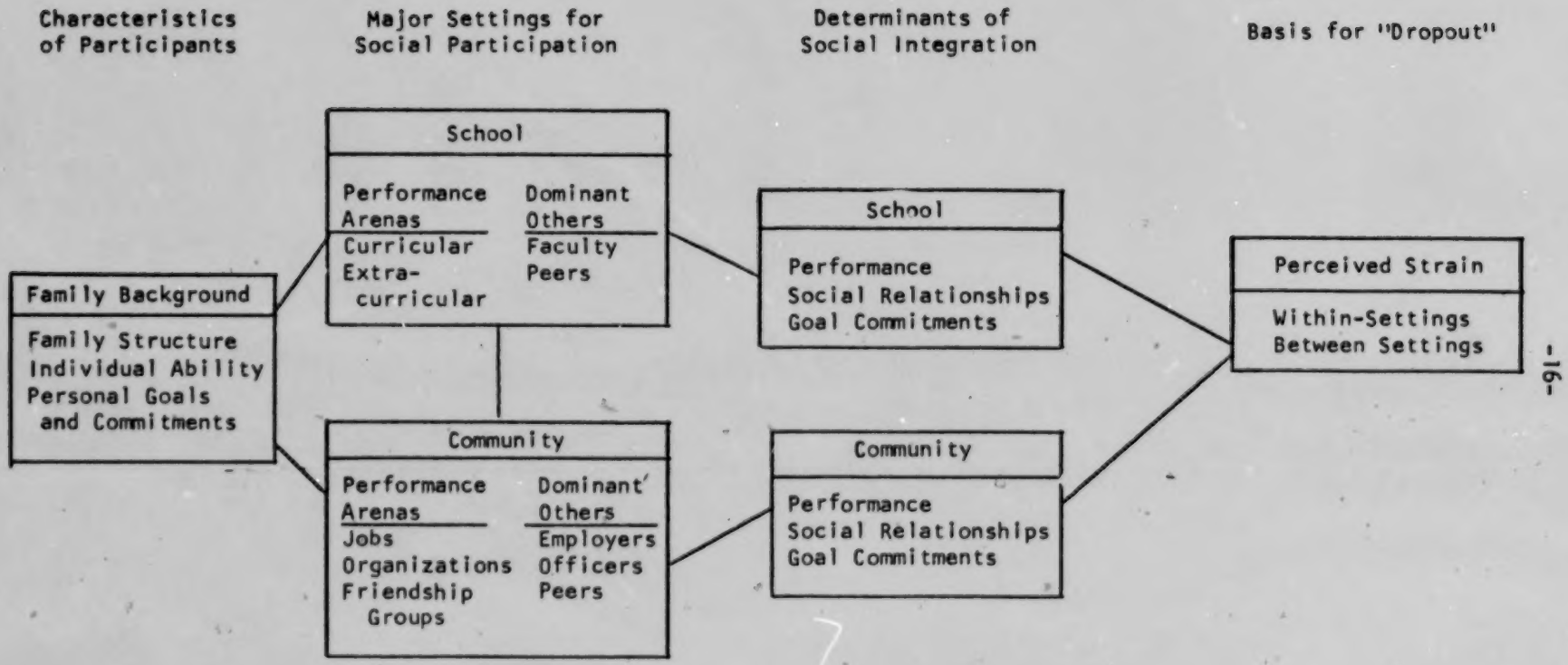

FIGURE 1

A CONCEPTUAL SCHEME FOR UNDERSTANDING ADOLESCENTS' "DROPOUT" FROM MAJOR SOCIAL SETTINGS

programs that are explicitly designed to handle problems of between-setting social integration.

Illustrative of conceptually focused research pursuing this problem of normative incongruity between social groups is a study by Reiss and Rhodes (1959). While they were concerned primarily with educational settings, their approach can be generalized to other community settings. These authors focused their interest on several questions derived from the work of Merton (1938, 1959), Cohen (1959), and Cloward (1959):

1. In general, what are the cultural expectations and goals with respect to school attendance and educational achievement in American society?

2. Do truants and delinquents perceive the dominant norms relating to "going to school" and "getting an education" in about the same way as conforming adolescents in similar status group positions?

3. Are truants and delinquents more likely than conforming adolescents to show constricted aspiration levels and to perceive their parents as holding a similar constricted view?

4. Are truants and delinquents more likely than conforming adolescents to want to quit school primarily in response to the coercive pressures of the compulsory school attendance norms or because they wish to implement alternative conforming goals in the society?

Their most revealing findings are: (a) there is a considerable variation of norms and goals according to group position, and (b) there is a much stronger relationship between deviant behavior and the subject's perception of his mother's (or his own) aspirations than there is between deviant behavior and the subject's assessment of either the norm of education held by the general population or the value the subject him/herself places on schooling.

Another important conceptual formulation was developed by Elliott, et. al., (1966), when they focused on the most problematic category of dropouts, capable students. This formulation again incorporates the work of Cloward and Ohlin (1960) and Cohen (1959) on status deprivation (middle vs. lower class). These authors describe a vicious circle in which lower class socialization does not produce school-oriented children. Consequently, being poorly prepared for the normative expectations of the school, lower class and minority children often fail to obtain status (primarily academic success, but also esteem in the school peer culture) in the formal hierarchy of the school.

Elliott, et. al., (1966) found that the capable student who drops out responds to status deprivation experienced primarily by lower class youth in the informal network of peer relationships and the academic setting of the school system. The crucial point of this piece lies in the distinctions made among various types of responses or adaptations to school failure. If students attribute difficulty to the existence of unjust or arbitrary criteria, they tend to become delinquents. If they attribute their troubles to personal inadequacies, they will also tend to become a dropout (or Merton's retreatist). The probability of explaining whether a student will drop out or become a delinquent depends, according to the authors, on differential association (Sutherland and Cressey, 1974), which emphasizes the processes of becoming deviant due to the learning process accompanying association with others (deviant or not) in which what is learned is reinforced and internalized as an alternative mean to achieve cultural goals.

In their culminating treatment of dropout, Elliott and Voss (1974) rely heavily on Cloward and Ohlin's (1960) formulation which was developed to explain the emergence, maintenance and content of specific delinquent subcultures (gangs) among lower class males, and contains the following four implicit dimensions:

1. Aspiration-opportunity disjunction
2. External attribution of blame
3. Alienation or normlessness
4. Access and exposure to delinquent groups

Elliott and Voss (1974) were, however, interested in the emergence of particular types of deviant behavior, namely, juvenile delinquency and (high) school dropout. They were also attempting to account for delinquent behavior by youths of both sexes and all social classes. Consequently, these authors developed the following modification of the foregoing dimensions to guide their own empirical analyses:

1. Individual's failure to achieve desired goals
2. Intropunitiveness, or belief that the school is responsible for individuals' problems
3. Social isolation
4. Exposure to dropout (Elliott and Voss, 1974; 10)

These four conceptual dimensions are related to three settings which make up the social environment--and reality--of the individual juvenile: the community, the home, and the school.

According to Elliott and Voss's (1974: 16) review of the literature, between 50 and 75 percent of all dropouts have the intellectual ability to graduate from high school. Consequently, these authors argue, conventional trait approaches to the study of dropout are inappropriate.

> ...Because they are, by definition, intellectually capable, it is not possible to identify the students who are likely to drop out through examination of scores on intelligence and reading tests, grades, or other information available in school records. Explanation of these dropouts requires an analysis of the structure and processes characteristic of the schools in order to identify sources of strain and tension (Elliott and Voss, 1974: 16).

According to Elliott and Voss (1974: 18), Cloward and Ohlin (1960) take a major step in rejecting Merton's (1938) implicit assumption that all youth would aspire to the same success goals. A modification is necessary because the aspiration-opportunity disjunction can lead (or create pressure) toward deviance not only when there is an objective (social class) disjunction but also when a subjective disjunction is perceived. This formulation has the following two advantages: (a) it can explain better the selective occurrence of deviance (delinquency and dropout) within (lower) social class, and (b) it can account for the general distribution of delinquency (and dropout) in the entire societal class structure. Thus, middle class juveniles may perceive a disjunction even if, objectively, their opportunities are greater than those of the lower class.

As is the case for juvenile delinquency, dropout may also be viewed as generated by failure to achieve desired goals.

> ...dropout is precipitated by aspiration-opportunity disjunctions. Again, the relevant goals may be either long-range educational economic goals, formal academic goals, peer culture goals, or acceptance within the family. While failure to achieve any of these goals may be conducive to dropout, we hypothesize that dropout is primarily a response to school failure. Specifically, it is failure to achieve the goals of the youth culture, rather than academic goals, that motivates most capable dropouts to leave school (Elliott and Voss, 1974: 27).

In other words, it is not failure in academic achievement alone, but any failure within the school system which may precipitate a voluntary retreatist act, a position supported especially by Lichter, et. al. (1962) and Cervantes (1965).

Another similarity between juvenile delinquency and dropout is that both are perceived by Elliott and Voss as group-supported phenomena in that as students become isolated from the main stream peer environment, they associate with dropouts (or delinquents) or find family support for

leaving (indifference, or lack of encouragement for staying in) school. However, contrary to the general assumption that dropout increases juvenile delinquency, these authors state:

> If it is the school that generates the greatest strain on adolescents, then the motivational stimulus for delinquency should be reduced once youth are out of school and free from its competitive pressures. This inference is at odds with the prevailing view that dropout increases the likelihood of delinquent behavior (Elliott and Voss, 1974: 35).

In completing their conceptual framework, the authors argue that two aspects of student alienation are important precipitants of dropout: social isolation and normlessness.

Using the school, rather than the individual dropouts, as the sampling unit, eight schools in two metropolitan areas were selected for study by Elliott and Voss. The study followed the student population as it entered the ninth grade in 1963 with additional annual observations until the cohort graduated in 1967. Data were gathered over five separate periods covering annual school attendance and graduation.

The findings derived from this study can be summarized as follows:

> The strongest predictors of dropout are academic failure, school normlessness and social isolation, exposure to dropout in the home, and commitment to peers; there are no significant sex differences. The fact that exposure to dropout in the home and commitment to school peers are both predictive of dropout is not inconsistent, as association with juveniles who dropped out of school is also predictive of dropout. The data do not support the contention that dropout is precipitated by problems in the home. Rather, the major instigating forces in dropout are to be found in academic failure and alienation from the school. Exposure to dropout, whether it occurs in the school or home, is generally conducive to dropout (Elliott and Voss, 1974: 205).

These authors also find that the lower the social class of the youth, the greater likelihood of his/her social isolation in school.

These findings agree, even though they are based on a different approach, with the concerns expressed by Bachman, et. al. (1971: 169-183) about efforts to deal with the dropout problem that only serve to aggravate youths' problems, rather than alleviating them. Among their recommendations were the following: (1) because dropping out is a symptom of larger problems, intervention in the student's life should be made at a point when social, economic and family influences can be overcome (and this intervention should be significant); and (2) because of changes in the labor market and the increasing importance of continuing education which provides

a source for retraining for new and developing jobs, school systems should develop alternatives to the traditional twelve years of schooling.

Programmatic Approaches for Dealing With The Dropout Problem

In this section of the paper, we present a general overview of the range of available programs for youths that are funded by the federal government, along with some of the evaluation literature that has resulted from studies of these programs. We also assess some of these programs' strengths and weaknesses in terms of the general conceptual scheme developed in the preceding section. Some more closely school-related programs are then discussed as examples of programs where greater attention is paid to the problems of the youth's social integration into both employment and school settings and linkages among family, school, and community social structures. We conclude with some recommendations for the design of programs focusing on the educational and employment problems of youths.

Many currently operating youth programs do not focus solely on dropouts, but are concerned with the more general category of disadvantaged youths. As evidenced in the types of programs available, the term disadvantaged encompasses such elements as underskilled, undereducated, low income, culturally different, physically handicapped, and un- or underemployed. With respect to publicly funded research and development concerning dropouts and disadvantaged youths, there has been activity in two general spheres. The first includes small-scale projects which are either experimental in nature or are involved in research efforts to explain the dropout phenomenon. The second is large-scale project development to service disadvantaged youths, and has been subject to considerable study and evaluation. These projects are generally oriented toward manpower or educational development of the dropout or disadvantaged youth, utilizing a variety of support services such as counseling, day care, and medical and financial assistance, when such aid is thought to be necessary. The orientation of these manpower and educational development projects reflects the basic assumptions held by policy makers and planners that adequate education is an important component of basic skills development and socialization, and that development of skills needed by the existing labor market will enhance employment and earning capabilities. These projects are

meant to improve job skills, and provide the opportunity for many youths to escape the "cycle of poverty." In addition, evaluators are involved in the assessment of such projects to determine both the merits of existing projects and their effectiveness in serving this segment of the population.

Among the numerous federally funded programs to aid dropouts and disadvantaged youths, some of the more widely discussed include: (a) Job Corps which is funded by the Employment and Training Administration and services low-income men and women between the ages of 16 and 21 who are in need of training, education or counseling in order to find meaningful work; (b) Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) and Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act (YEDPA) of 1977, which is funded by the Employment and Training Administration and provides funds to the states to establish job training and counseling programs for unemployed youths; (c) the Youth Conservation Corps, funded by the Forest Service, which provides training and experience in conservation activities to all youths ages 15 through 18; (d) Work-Study Programs which are funded by the Office of Education, and provide part-time employment to youths in vocational education programs as an incentive to remain in school; (e) Neighborhood Youth Corps (NYC) which is funded by the Employment and Training Administration to provide dropouts and potential dropouts with work experience within the local community; (f) the Work Incentive Program (WIN), which sometimes provides training and support to AFDC recipients who are no longer enrolled in school; (g) Youth Opportunity Centers (YOC), which provide public service employment to youths 16 to 21 years of age entering the labor force; and (h) Community Action Programs (CAP), which provide money for locally based community action such as training, employment, recreation and youth development projects (Office of Management and Budget, 1976; Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1977; National League of Cities and U.S. Conference of Mayors, 1977).

Debate continues on the merits of these efforts, in part because they have neither resulted in mass reductions of unemployment among youths, nor resulted in dramatic changes in their economic status. Proponents of existing projects, however, generally argue that youths are in need of career-oriented services and that programs being developed at the Federal level of government are deliverying important services to the youth

population. Advocated is expansion of existing youth services which provide compensatory education (to overcome environmentally and culturally derived deficits) and career and job development. Marland (1974), MacMichael (1971) and Ganshow, recognizing that many low-income youths do not receive adequate career and occupational guidance, argue for career development which is related to student abilities. Kotz (1967) recommends that vocational educators should redefine their goals continuously based upon changes which occur in the labor market, and Becker (1972) and Stromsdorfer (1973) caution educators not to lose sight of the benefits of on-the-job training and work-study programs.

Cain (1967), Borus (1970), and Somers and Stromsdorfer (1972) demonstrate that Job Corps participants consistently received higher salaries than nonparticipants who were employed in the same type of work. MacNamee (1968) states that the reason for the success of Job Corps is, in part, the support and encouragement trainees receive from the staff, and Goldberg (1977) shows that noneconomic benefits do occur from youths' participation in Job Corps. Egloff (1970) shows that the Neighborhood Youth Corps has been beneficial to large numbers of youths, providing them with work experience and career direction. And Richardson and Dunning (1975) show that WIN provided benefits to participants through on-the-job training and job sponsorship by increasing the likelihood of immediate entry into the labor force, and immediate employment. Long term benefits due to OJT continued to be evident.

Others, however, argue that the benefits which were to be realized from youth programs have not filtered down to those who were the intended recipients. Fechter (1974) states that while programs like Neighborhood Youth Corps improve conditions among disadvantaged youths in the short run, no long term benefits have yet been evidenced, and Walther and Magnussen (1967) point out that when NYC programs include large numbers of dropouts in their programs a lower job placement and training success rate is achieved due to dropouts' lack of motivation and underachievement. Similarly, Woltman and Walton (1969) state that while Job Corps training has resulted in improved job possibilities and earnings for some youths, the great majority who participated have not faired better economically.

While most of the programs oriented toward manpower development provided employment opportunities over the short run for eligible youths, a common shortcoming seems to be that longer term employment prospects for participating youths remained relatively unfavorable. One of the major reasons for the rather bleak long-term employment prospects of program participants was the absence of strong system linkages between home, community, and school settings. Jobs in the community tended to be limited in terms of advancement potential and career development, and little effort was made to assist the youths in these programs with problems of re-integration into new job and school situations. In short, these programs tended to be very limited in their emphasis on developing self-sufficiency among participants, so that the youths involved could move independently into the labor market, obtain necessary additional skills for job advancement, and develop new patterns of integration into the social structure of the community.

Rivlin (1966) argues that even if vocational and career development were to prove effective in reducing the numbers of unskilled laborers, considerable attention would have to be paid to optimum levels of training, the location of training, and the equitable allocation of costs. She concludes that where inadequate demand for labor is the causative factor of unemployment, offering vocational or career development would do little to abate the lack of demand for skilled workers. Finally, Grasso and Shea (1972) demonstrate that vocational education provides no immediate labor market advantages (as evidenced by similar earnings among vocational education and nonvocational education students.)

Within the framework established by these larger, ongoing, federally funded efforts, researchers are now involved in smaller and often innovative projects to try to service the needs of disadvantaged youth. The Pittsburgh Technical Institute has developed a program to train, counsel, and develop jobs in technical careers for unemployed youths (Nester, 1971), and the State of Florida (Davis, 1976) is sponsoring work-study programs to provide career-related employment to potential dropouts. MARC (Lewis, et. al., 1976) conducted a program to aid young poor, unemployed black women who had not completed high school by developing their knowledge of the world of work and career development by utilizing peer group counseling and aides who acted as intermediaries and advocates for the women in the community.

Sensitivity to the need for stronger between-setting linkages for youths is evident in several programs, all with a substantial formal educational component and designed to provide a broad base of support that can facilitate greater integration of the participant youths into family, school, and community settings. One such program, CETA Operation 25, currently ongoing in Chicago Heights, Illinois' Bloom High School, is serving dropouts between the ages of 17 and 21. The program, described in the October, 1977 issue of the American Vocational Education Association Journal, combines classroom study with job training and experience. It also provides support services through a full-time job coach and a half-time counselor who assist program members in defining job goals, skills development, and self-assessments of interests and abilities. Though the program lasts only a year for each participant, nearly two-thirds of the participants appear to be achieving the program's objectives.

Massimo and Shore (1963), operating under the assumption that individual identity is formed during adolescence, designed a program involving intensive psychological intervention in the life of the dropout. These authors concentrated their efforts on a small number of individuals (10 dropouts in the treatment group receiving services, 10 dropouts in the control group receiving no services). Massimo and Shore felt that dropouts had low self-esteem, and that changes in their egos would precipitate changes in their life styles. However, they also recognized that psychological development was not the only problem dropouts faced: dropouts generally could not find work due to a lack of skills, and were not able to get social services generally available to the population due to social stigmatization. Thus, they established a program where a counselor acted both as the dropout's therapist and sponsor within the community.

In order to capture the dropout at the crisis point, school officials immediately notified counselors of an individual's dropping out of school. Shortly thereafter, the counselor made contact with the dropout; when his confidence had been gained, the intervention process began. Immediately, results became evident. Three dropouts returned to school and within a ten month period none had gotten into trouble with police. In contrast, the untreated group did show deterioriation: inability to find work, involvement with the police, and unemployment.

A unique facet of this program was the author's ability to conduct systematic follow-ups of all twenty individuals at one-, five-, and ten-year intervals (Shore and Massimo, 1966, 1969, 1973). These follow-ups of program participants showed that the members of the treatment group were doing consistently better than the control group members in terms of arrest records (few, if any), career (stable employment situations), and family (intact and flourishing).

One problem with the research done by Massimo and Shore is that they do not indicate clearly what they perceive to be the more important contributing factors to the success of their program--psychological counseling, job development, or some combination of the two. Assessments of the MARC program, mentioned earlier (Lewis, et. al., 1976), suggest that job development is the more important factor. Another problem with MARC, Massimo and Shore, and other similar programs is that they are staff-intensive. This sort of program is too expensive for widespread implementation because it requires a very low ratio of highly skilled, high salaried professionals to program participants.

Both the Home-School Contact Program (Erickson, et. al., 1971, 1972) and the Passaic Plan (Kvaraceus, 1945) were designed to provide mechanisms for identifying problem students (dropouts and delinquents, in particular) in school and to use either paraprofessional community people (Home-School Contact) or an agency referral system (Passaic Plan) for working together with parents and the problem youths in effectively dealing with the presenting problems. The Passaic Plan, in particular, was quite highly organized with respect to coordination of various community agencies in their service to youths. Unfortunately, neither of these school-oriented programs paid much attention to the problems of youth employment. They also seemed to be oriented to serving interests of the schools with respect particularly to the maintenance of order and the minimizing of disruptive behavior in school, rather than with advocacy of any sort on behalf of the youths involved when school-generated tensions might have been primarily responsible for the young person's problems.

Given these shortcomings of existing programs, we would recommend that the following sorts of considerations be incorporated into the design and implementation of programs aimed at improving the longer term prospects of disadvantaged youths in the labor market. First, programs should be designed to include strong linkages among family, school, and employment settings of youths. If, as we have asserted, a major problem faced by

school dropouts is poor social integration into various social settings and a limited knowledge of required performances within such settings, it seems highly desirable to build programs which include some sorts of support and youth advocacy services so that participants can learn both to model appropriate integrative behavior and expand their own personal knowledge of setting expectations and opportunities.

Second, every effort should be made to minimize interference from vested interests in the school and employment settings inhabited by problem youths. Of foremost concern should be the integrative problems of the individual program participants, not of the school or the workplace. We recognize that social organizations have routines that are not easily disrupted. However, we also see a need for a youth advocacy system that could both stimulate adaptations by the school and employment sectors to the needs and personal styles of youths from disadvantaged backgrounds and help individual youths to make informed choices about their employment potentials and the most appropriate settings in which they might realize those potentials. With respect to educational settings, the youth advocacy approach would involve helping youths to identify alternatives to traditional schools such as street academies, evening classes, or work-study programs which might be more conducive to school completion and skill acquisition.

In Chapter VII, we shall outline in more detail the general structure of a program for adolescent school dropouts that is designed to incorporate the foregoing considerations.

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC SCHOOL RESOURCES FOR DROPOUTS IN BALTIMORE

The City of Baltimore, like many other established urban centers, has experienced urban decay, the exodus of the middle class to outlying suburban areas, the influx of poorer minority groups, the loss of commercial development, a shrinking tax base, and increased fiscal costs. However, over the past decade Baltimore has also experienced remarkable growth. Under the direction of an activist City government, federal, state, city and private funds have been effectively utilized to foster redevelopment, urban homesteading, and social service programs to meet the service needs of the population. The Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources, the Urban Services Agency, and the City school system are among the public and private groups which have sought to improve the quality of life for Baltimore's inner city residents. Baltimore is, therefore, a city in which the processes of urban decay and urban growth are operating simultaneously.

The Baltimore City school system has experienced increased demands to provide services to meet the special needs of its low-income students, and in response to these demands has developed a wide range of programs aimed at disadvantaged youth. The purpose of these programs has been to provide dropout-prone youths with the kinds of services necessary for skills development, academic success, and career decision-making. However, at the same time, the Baltimore City schools are confronted with limited resources which naturally affect the quality and quantity of services provided.

In part, the problems of the Baltimore City school system are a function of its size. It is the eighth largest school system in the country, and serves approximately 166,000 students each year, of which about 45,000 attend Middle (7th and 8th grades) and Junior (7th, 8th, and 9th grades) High Schools and 33,000 attend Senior High Schools. The school system provides traditional graded, vocational, and adult education, programs for exceptional children,

and special programs for dropout-prone students and dropouts. And all these services must be provided within a limited budget.[1]

The problems which the Baltimore City schools face are not, however, unique to Baltimore. They are the problems of most large urban school districts: limited fiscal resources, the presence of programs which are temporarily funded by the Federal government and which will require city or state funding when federal funds are no longer available, and increased demands on the part of teachers and staff for higher salaries. However, additional problems do plague the City's schools: ethnic and racial segregation within the City has resulted in segregation within the schools; desegregation activities (e.g., bussing) have resulted in increased racial tensions. (Data from a small survey of dropouts which we conducted in Baltimore indicate that among whites, and especially white females, one of the major reasons for leaving school is recent desegregation efforts by the school system.) In many respects, these very problems have contributed to one of Baltimore's more serious education problems -- a high dropout rate--and has led the Baltimore City schools to develop special programs to aid those students who leave school prior to graduation.

Administrative Structure

The Baltimore City schools operate under the direction of the Mayor's Office.[2] Below the Mayor is a vertical administrative structure which includes the Board of Commissioners (the main policymaking body), the Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Deputy Superintendent of Public Instruction, the Deputy Superintendent for Executive Matters, regional superintendents, and principals.

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[1]During the academic year 1976-77 the Baltimore City school per pupil expenditures were $1,472 based on Average Daily Membership (ADM) or enrollment, as compared with the National estimated average of $1,475 (ADM). (Source: National Center for Educational Statistics, "Preliminary Data for Fall Report on Per Pupil School Expenditures," 1977.)

[2]Although in recent years the trend has been to make the schools a part of the local jurisdiction's executive office, the majority of schools remain independent of the executive. Only 8.5 percent are dependent school districts or are in some way connected with the local executive, though within the State of Maryland all 33 school districts are in some way tied to either the city or county executive. (Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census of Governments, 1972, Government Organization, Table 2 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1972).)

Each regional headquarters consists of a regional superintendent, administrative assistant, support personnel and specialists in the following areas: management, planning, instruction and staff development, community and student affairs and pupil services. The regional superintendents (of which there are eight) nave direct administrative responsibility for the students, teachers, schools and communities within their jurisdictions, under the decentralized system which Baltimore adopted in 1972. One objective of this administrative structure is to increase parental involvement in the decisionmaking processes which affect the schools, to separate administrative and educational functions, and to reorganize the educational structure to include pre-kindergarten and adult education in addition to a traditional kindergarten through high school curriculum.

The Dropout Problem

Number of Dropouts

The large number of students who do not complete their education in the Baltimore City school system is documented in Table 4, which indicates that 13 percent of senior high school students who were enrolled in the Baltimore City schools from September 1976 through March 1977 left school prior to completion of the twelfth grade; four percent of the students enrolled in junior high schools during the same period dropped out. While these figures are a fair estimate of the dropout population and rate, they may not be accurate due to reporting characteristics of the Baltimore school system which are discussed below.

TABLE 4

ENROLLMENTS, DROPOUTS AND DROPOUT RATES,
BY SEX AND RACE
(September, 1976-March, 1977)

	All	White		Nonwhite	
		Males	Females	Males	Females
Junior High					
Enrolled	43,591	5,494	4,830	17,149	16,118
Dropped out	1,957	433	301	761	462
Dropout rate	4	8	6	4	3
Senior High					
Enrolled	31,717	4,313	3,911	10,539	12,954
Dropped out	3,973	554	506	1,495	1,418
Dropout rate	13	13	13	14	11

There are very few differences by sex and race in the dropout rate, though junior high school whites are slightly more likely than the average to drop out and nonwhite females seem to be least likely to drop out.

Definitional Problems

A word of caution about these data is required. It is ultimately rather difficult to be certain of just who are dropouts. Like other school systems, Baltimore City schools find it difficult to establish a clear-cut dropout category, in part because the dropout phenomenon itself is not amenable to neat categorization. In the Baltimore record-keeping system, dropouts are grouped into four categories: 16 years of age or older and not otherwise categorized, left school to get married, entered the military, and whereabouts unknown. Table 5 provides a general picture of the proportion of students who left school early in each withdrawal category.

TABLE 5

BALTIMORE CITY SCHOOL DROPOUT POPULATION FOR ACADEMIC YEAR THROUGH 3/31/77 BY CATEGORY
(In percentages)

	Junior High	Senior High
Sixteen years and older	79	90
Entered the military	<1	2
Left school to get married	1	<1
Whereabouts unknown	20	7
Total	100	100

It is fair to assume that the last group in Table 5 includes many individuals whose school records have been lost, who are attending class in a Baltimore school other than the one to which they are assigned, and who have transferred to another school district from which the system has not received a request for transcripts. This category may also include students below the age of 16, who are unable to leave school officially, but are truant; such students often have, in fact, dropped out but cannot be listed in one of the other categories until their 16th birthday. The first category is by far the largest one, of course, but it can be argued that it actually understates the number of dropouts. One factor in the probable undercount is that Baltimore City schools allow the principal to designate the status of a student. The principal usually will list students as enrolled until official notification to the contrary is received from the students, the students' parents, or the school system.

In addition, some students who do not return from their summer vacations are not accounted for in any of these categories. Instead, they are included in a group called Grade 50, and are not added to one of these four categories until the end of the school year when a final enrollment count is made.

Services and Programs for Dropouts and Dropout-Prone Students In the Baltimore City Schools

The presence of a large dropout population, and interest on the part of the school administration in reducing the incidence of early withdrawal has led to the development of a variety of programs to meet the needs of many types of disadvantaged youth.

For one thing, dropouts may be re-admitted to regular school, provided they apply while they are within the normal school age range. It may also be possible for a dropout to transfer to another program in the Baltimore schools in which s/he might prefer to enroll. In particular, it is sometimes assumed that a vocational program might be more appropriate and have greater holding power for such students. The Baltimore school system has a sizable number of such programs, most of which are sponsored under the Vocational Education Act or from funds available through the Comprehensive Employment and Training ACT (CETA). Altogether, there are 18,000 vocational slots in the Baltimore school system, for programs in junior, senior, and vocational high schools as well as special education schools, and these programs are available for in-school secondary school students, dropouts, and adults.

However, it is likely that most dropouts would find it difficult to participate in programs other than those specifically earmarked for this group. Many programs require average or better-than-average school performance, others have specific age restrictions, still others are in heavy demand.

While the dropout population is made up of students from all levels of academic achievement, it includes a large component of youths who have not mastered basic skills (in particular in reading and mathematics) which would enable them to function effectively in many of the regular vocational programs.

Special programs aimed at dropouts or dropout-prone students can be grouped into three categories: specialized vocational and pre-vocational offerings; special in-school services for dropout-prone students; and programs for students with special problems.

Vocational or Pre-vocational Offerings

This is the largest category of programs designed to serve dropout-prone students as well as those who have actually left school, including older students who are no longer eligible for enrollment in regular high school programs.

1. Adult Education.--This program is funded through the Vocational Education Act and is directed at persons sixteen years or older who are not enrolled in a regular day school. The courses are designed to upgrade skills, to increase the likelihood of finding work and for job advancement in the areas of skilled trades and office work.[4]

2. Vocational Education and Training Services (VETS).--This program is partially supported by student tuition payments and provides vocational education, skills upgrading, and schooling to adults in need of skills training or educational development, or both. Included in this program are GED and job placement components.[4]

3. The Metropolitan Skills Center.--This facility is sponsored jointly by the Baltimore City schools, the Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources, and the State Department of Vocational Education, and provides training in fields for which employers in the Baltimore area have expressed a need. Training is offered in clerical work, machine tool operation, welding, building maintenance, and practical nursing, and each study area includes an on-the-job component. Participants must be at least 17 1/2 years old and demonstrate minimal proficiency in math and reading (which is established by the particular study areas).[4]

4. Harbor City Learning Center.--This program is funded jointly by the Baltimore City schools and the Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources (the CETA prime sponsor), and offers dropouts and dropout-prone students the opportunity to obtain a high school diploma and job skills development through in-school study and on-the-job training in one of four clusters: business, health, public safety/community service, and transportation/communications. The scholastic program is alternated biweekly with a job assignment with a designated employer. A fifth grade reading level is required for enrollment.

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[4]These programs are offered, in part, through the Calvert Adult Education Center, but make use of other community based schools, and public and private service organizations.

5. PREP.--This relatively new program is funded by the Baltimore City schools, the Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources, and a grant from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, and offers dropouts basic skills preparation for employment and schooling. Individuals participating in PREP have been identified by the juvenile justice system as delinquent and in need of special services, regardless of academic abilities. PREP offers participants individualized instruction in reading and math, counseling services, pre-GED preparation, and on-the-job training in a field of interest.

6. Adult Basic Education.--This is a prevocational program directed at adults and supported by monies from the Adult Education Act. It is aimed at persons with or without a high school diploma, who are deficient in the basic reading skills needed to enter an adult education program. The program focuses on the development of math and reading skills. Instruction is offered at a variety of centers around the City of Baltimore to increase ease of participation.[5]

Dropout Prevention Programs

There are a number of programs which the Baltimore City schools offer to students who have been identified as dropout-prone or in need of special services. They are of interest to us because they suggest the types of services with which a support and referral system might be concerned. Programs for dropout-prone and special students recruit students through outreach and assess their needs through peer counseling. In addition, they provide tutoring to students who lack basic skills, involve governments and businesses in career and job information programs, secure the assistance of social service agencies to meet students' needs, develop human relations workshops to deal with problems in the schools, and offer individual and group counseling when needed. Unlike traditional dropout programs, which are primarily work-oriented, these programs provide a variety of services directed at meeting the social, psychological and academic needs of target population.

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[5]See footnote 4 on page 7.

1. Project Impact.--This program is funded under Title III of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) and is directed at improving the in-school performance of students who lack proficiency in math and reading , and who have attendance problems. Program services include a buddy system to check attendance; tutoring by high school and college students; workshops on human relations, behavior and student development for students, their parents and teachers; and individual and group counseling.

2. Student Facilitators in the Guidance Process.--This program is funded through Title III of ESEA and is directed at students having scholastic and social problems. Student facilitators (peer counselors) assist in the guidance process by disseminating information to students on educational and career opportunities, by assisting students who have academic and social problems, and by acting as role models.

3. Growing Opportunities Program.--This is an informational program funded by the City of Baltimore to increase students' awareness of the importance of completing their education and of job opportunities in government and business. In addition practical experience with job applications and interviews is provided.

4. Project Attendance Improvement Monitoring (AIM).--Funded by the City of Baltimore, AIM is an outreach program directed at the reduction of truancy among junior and senior high school students. The AIM staff contacts truants and their parents to determine the reasons for chronic absence from the schools. Where appropriate, AIM staff enlists the aid of social service agencies, provides tutorial assistance, and seeks support from classroom teachers for students' efforts at improving their attendance and school work.

Program for Students with Speical Problems

Services to Pregnant Students is funded under Title XX of the Social Security Act and provides pregnant school age women with the opportunity to remain in school during and after their pregnancy. They may either remain within their regular school or transfer to the Edgar Allan Poe School for Teenage Mothers (which is supported with local funds).

At any location, students receive a variety of support services including counseling, medical care, individualized instruction, social services, and information on postnatal care.

The Baltimore schools also operate a small Baltimore City Jail School program which is funded under Title I of ESEA, to provide for the educational needs of incarcerated school age youths under the jurisdiction of the juvenile courts. The Jail School's goal is to integrate delinquents into the community by providing them with academic and social skills.

Effectiveness of Dropout, Dropout Prevention, and Special Student Programs

It is difficult to assess the effectiveness of existing dropout, dropout prevention and special student programs in the absence of research data on program operations and long-term effects on participants. Dropout rates in Baltimore are high, but they might be higher without the existing prevention and special programs. From the perspective of the project we are proposing to locate in Baltimore, the more important issue is that of school resources for students who have dropped out. For those people there are alternatives. The Harbor City program may be the most attractive, given its well developed linkages with public employers, the automatic availability of student stipends, and the presence of high quality support services such as counseling and child care. Other alternatives include PREP, which was established to provide more basic education and career preparation for young people who do not meet the entrance requirements for the Harbor City program, and the Metropolitan Skills Center program, which offers job skills training and other support services, including job placement and financial aid.

While our research indicates that there are nearly 13,000 slots available to dropouts and other individuals in need of skills training in the adult vocational education sector, we have found that the accessibility and usefulness of these programs to dropouts is limited. For example, the Adult Basic Education program, which serves nearly half of the participants in this sector, provides only basic educational skills training, and includes no support components. The VETS program, which

provides job skills training, job placement services, and GED courses to 500 participants each year, requires tuition payments of $90 per month for those enrolled in the program fulltime, and $45 per month for those enrolled halftime. Stipends are not available unless the participant is a veteran (eligible for the G.I. Bill). Dropouts, in particular, may find it difficult to participate in such a program due to the lack of financial resources, the tuition requirement, and the likelihood of conflicts between work and VETS (daytime) program schedules. In addition, dropouts must compete with other members of the community for entry into the program.

The Harbor City Learning Center and Metropolitan Skills Center programs provide additional services such as counseling and financial assistance. However, Harbor City is incapable of serving all dropouts in need of training and educational credentials. Not only does it have a limited number of slots (about 600 new students can be enrolled each year) and a sizable waiting list, but also an entrance requirement of a fifth grade reading level, which renders a large portion of the dropout population ineligible. In addition, not all slots are reserved for dropouts; drop-out-prone students may enroll in the Harbor City program as well. PREP, which was established to provide educational and career services to students who are unable to meet the Harbor City program's minimum eligibility requirements, has only 50 available slots per year, and participants must be referred to the program through the juvenile justice system. The Metropolitan Skills Center has a capacity of 250 students per year, does not offer the wide range of services provided by Harbor City or PREP, and is open to high school graduates and students from five adjoining counties as well as the City of Baltimore. Thus, while the opportunities available to dropouts may seem substantial, it becomes readily apparent that adequate services for dropouts are limited in reality.

It seems that for the large majority of the estimated 8,000 who drop out annually, the only educational alternatives to be found are either re-admission to the regular schools or enrollment in the adult vocational education sector. The former may or may not provide access to one of the existing in-school dropout prevention services which could help students complete their education this time around. The latter places a strong emphasis on the transition from school to work, but provides few of the counseling or support services which dropouts often need. Apparently

it is the undereducated, nondelinquent dropouts who receive the least assistance. Programs such as Harbor City Learning Center or adult vocational education, while providing services to many dropouts, have limited resources, and often do not serve those who have the poorest academic records, the least skills development, and the least likelihood of finding work. Even those programs such as Adult Basic Education, which offer services to this group of dropouts, do not provide the additional support needed by this group.

While it is clear that the City of Baltimore and the Baltimore schools are attempting to provide appropriate services for the dropout population, and have allocated considerable resources for this purpose, what exists is not sufficient to meet the needs of this population. Additional efforts may be required. These efforts might draw upon some of the most creative elements of existing dropout prevention programs and programs for special students, by incorporating these aspects into a single program to serve the dropout population.

CHAPTER IV

COMMUNITY RESOURCES FOR DROPOUTS IN BALTIMORE: ACCESS, AND REFERRAL PROBLEMS

As in all major metropolitan areas, there exist in Baltimore a large number of social and community agencies--public and private, sectarian and non-sectarian, single-purpose and multi-purpose--designed to provide services to every segment of the population. Many of these offer types of programs which are pertinent to the needs of the drop-out population. such as medical and psychological services, family counseling, recreational and avocational activities, career guidance and testing, to name but a few. Our purpose here is not to enumerate and describe these agencies; this would be a task for a separate report. In fact, this information is available elsewhere. The Baltimore Health and Welfare Council, the roof organization for private social agencies in Baltimore, compiled in 1975 and has set up for inter-agency use a computerized "Fast Referral and Information Service for Youth" (FRISBY) which is periodically updated and lists in easily accessible form the types of services offered by various agencies to young people, and the conditions under which these services can be accessed. In this chapter, we are attempting a broader assessment of the level and nature of available services and of access and referral problems in order to relate existing resources to the planned activities of the proposed Continuous Support and Referral Service (CSR).

This discussion has three parts: first, a brief overview of services that are currently available to drop-outs in Baltimore; second, the attitudes of service delivery agencies toward drop-outs both as a social problem that requires explanation and as a group of clients that need help;[1] and third, since we are interested in establishing a mechanism which will help to integrate local services for which youth are

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[1]This report is based on informal conversations with public and private service agencies in Baltimore. Quotes or attitudes are not attributed to individuals or agencies.

eligible, a very brief discussion of some of the problems related to referral of clients around the helping system.[2]

Let us turn first to the availability of services in Baltimore. The concept of availability has at least three main components. We can consider that a service is available to an individual if s/he can answer yes to each of the following questions:

Will the service help me solve my immediate problem?

Is the service center location accessible?

Am I eligible for the service?

In other words, focus, location and eligibility requirements of Baltimore's helping agencies are the first three topics that we will consider.

Generally,speaking, youth as a group are not participants in a public "helping system," apart from the schools. Baltimore is not unique in this respect: nationwide, children are a neglected segment of the population. People who work in service agencies in Baltimore feel that the reasons for youth's deprivation are two-fold. First, there is little public funding for youth services. Youth are generally assumed to be under their parents' care, and help that parents receive is thought to filter down to young people. Second, agency people feel that youth are slow to ask for help, either because they do not know what exists for them, or for other reasons, such as pride. Further, if youths share the view of agencies that they are under their parents' care, then the youths themselves may not think to reach beyond their families for aid, even if they recognize the need for it.

For the young person who is disadvantaged by virtue of poverty or background, the shortage of services is acute, no matter whether the focus of concern is on job training and placement, on health care, on counseling, on day care, or on other needed services.

Turning to the focus of those programs which are available to young people in general, very few are aimed directly at young dropouts. The Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources administers two alternative school programs that are a combination of classroom and work experience, and there is one other sizeable work experience program. These two programs have a total of about thirteen hundred slots, for which there are

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[2]This discussion does not include (a) drop-out prevention or truancy, or (b) actual program data. The schools' programs for drop-outs and drop-out prone youngsters were discussed in Chapter III. Agencies and schools do work closely together in the area of drop-out prevention.

long waiting lists. One agency director offered to list other dropout programs on paper, and drew a large zero on an otherwise blank sheet. So there seems to be little program recognition of dropouts as a special constituency.

For the average young person who has left high school early, then, what is available are the same programs that are available to other youth. The vast majority of program slots are in recreation: the arts, sports and other free-time activities. During the summer, there are all-day programs; during the school year, they run only in the afternoons. Some of these programs are administered through the schools; the major sponsor is Urban Services (a public program administered through the Department of Recreation) with over three hundred thousand children enrolled in its recreation programs. In terms of dropouts' needs, recreational programs can be seen as occupational surrogates, i.e., programs that occupy the individual's time during the day, but that do not form a part of a job-developmental sequence. Job training and placement opportunities for dropouts are severely restricted, even in strong local economies. Similarly, counseling and health care programs exist but are also limited. Not all service agency people agree that Baltimore needs a more complete range of services, though; some feel that the city only needs more money to expand existing services.

What kinds of services do agencies feel dropouts need that do not already exist? The answer depends first on whether or not they consider dropouts to be a special sub-population of disadvantaged youth. Second, it depends on what they think are the causes of a young person's decision to drop out. The agency people's opinions on this point seem to fall into four clusters:[3]

First, a young person leaves school because of his own personal problems.

Second, s/he drops out because of his parents' problems.

Third, dropouts reflect the schools' problems. One agency director wonder aloud if dropouts are making <u>educational</u> sacrifices when they leave high school, or whether they sacrifice only certification.

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[3]Agency people emphasized that their opinions were based on their impressions, not on data.

Finally, the fourth view is that young people drop out because of societal problems, mainly poverty. Children who do not have enough clothes, or food, or space at home to do homework, often drop out.

Depending on which of these views one holds, the preferred solution to the dropout's problems will differ. Basically, these solutions fall into one of two very broad categories: (1) counseling programs, for either the youth or the parents, to build up psychological strength; or (2) maintenance programs that attempt to place the young person in a situation where s/he can earn money, and then save it for personal use. For those agencies that operate under the assumption that poverty creates the preconditions for dropping out, counseling programs do not go to the heart of the problem. Similarly, for those operating under the assumption that youths' problems are caused by a broken family life, a surrogate parent program, for example, is of first priority.

While these explanations of dropping out do not compete in theory, they do in practice because of the way agencies and programs hold onto their clienteles, as we shall see when we discuss problems involved in interagency referral.

These four perspectives also have an impact on the mode of service delivery. The more individualistic theories find their form in one-on-one or small group relationships to an adult. One agency person spoke of these kinds of programs as giving the young person a needed "significant person." The small groups also are patterend after familial relationships, with the youngsters taking on sibling roles vis-a-vis each other. The more structural sorts of explanations find practice in large groups, such as work-study or recreational programs, or in small groups that do not emphasize interpersonal relationships among peers. In Baltimore, all three forms of delivery are available, with the one-to-one relationships apparently the preferred or idealized form, when money and staffing allow it.

In terms of our second component of availability, accessibility, we have a situation which is not especially problematic. The principle of neighborhood centered services seems well-established in Baltimore, with the result that most agencies have local offices in the communities that provide the greatest number of clients. This is also true of services that dropouts use, not because agencies locate where there are high concentrations of dropouts, but because those high concentrations are in the poorer neighborhoods. Public transportation in the downtown area, where most of these

neighborhoods are, allows for fairly easy transportation when a young person is not independently mobile.

The third component, eligibility, is problematic, depending (again) on whether one believes that dropouts are a clientele with special needs or not. Most services that are available to young people at all do not exclude dropouts (with the exception of some sponsored by religious organizations), but, as already mentioned, most agencies do not have programs explicitly for dropouts, either. Again, young people seem to be presumed to be cared for by their parents, and whether or not they have dropped out of high school does not entail special consideration. So, eligibility is still too broad a question for our concerns at this point.

The general view towards dropping out seems to be that if it is a liability to a young person, it is essentially a voluntary status. In other words, hard-liners take the view that young people who leave school before they graduate are asking for whatever punishment they receive from society as a result. A less extreme view demands that the student's point of view be considered. The student's view may be that dropping out simply shortens the time to an inevitable and successful job search, with no loss if the curriculum is not something that s/he feels will be helpful.[4] The group of agency people who felt that the schools generate their own dropouts held this view, that curricula do not fill a young person's needs and that students feel "lost" and purposeless in school.

To summarize these points on availability, services are available to dropouts in Baltimore <u>in a sense</u>; not because they are dropouts but because they fall into some other category; young, dependent, poor, and so on. This fact creates a somewhat coincidental aspect to services for dropouts, with the exceptions mentioned above.

The looseness of fit between dropouts and services entails some additional problems having to do with the existing pattern of referral among agencies. More specifically, there is very little interagency referral in Baltimore. Referral facilitation efforts such as the previously mentioned Health and Welfare Council's computerized "Fast Referral

[4]The discussion made the point that young people who leave school may be aware that they are entering the lowest ranks of the labor force, but that the lack of opportunity for upward mobility is not a deterrant.

and Information Service for Baltimore Youth" (FRISBY), have made no change in referral rates or patterns. There seem to be three reasons why this is true. First, there is not sufficient public money available in Baltimore for agencies to be generous about sharing their head-counts. Funding is based on performance, or demonstrated need; the inclination of the service agencies is to cling to bodies, not to redistribute them. Along with the general shortage of funds is the political nature of funding. One agency administrator told me that on some days his office looked like an employment agency for friends and relatives of state Senators, and that when budget hearings come up, funding renewals are based not just on overall performance, but on performance in this or that Senator's district. These conditions create strong rivalry among the agencies: each wants to get the credit for innovations, so there is little voluntary or on-going sharing of ideas or other matters of common interest.

Everyone in the service agencies who was interviewed mentioned a lack of governmental commitment to service delivery as a major and consistent source of their problems. Apparently, many programs begin but few are refunded. Administrators with long experience in their fields give the appearance of "waiting out" what they call the trends in services--and, as someone in Baltimore reported, "Children are not popular."

The second reason why referral is fairly infrequent in Baltimore is that, perhaps because of the competition that surrounds service delivery there, individual agencies tend to claim a monopoly over the services that any one client needs. Except for very tangible (and therefore unthreatening) needs, such as clothing or medical care, agencies can use their social perspectives (the four explanations of dropping out discussed earlier) to claim a client once s/he has entered the helping system through their own particular door. This situation reinforces the strength of the agencies' service philosophies, and creates competition among perspectives where, under ideal conditions, no competition would exist. For example, while we can easily imagine a young drop-out who needs both counseling and a job, in practice s/he is more likely to receive counseling or a job.

Third, most agencies do not have to advertise to fill their rolls, and do not need referral as a source of recruitment. What seems to be a more palatable concept to agencies than referral is "sequential service delivery" for young people. As a youngster matures and enters the

transitional world between childhood and adulthood, or between school and the labor force, everyone seems able to recognize that the individual's needs--including the relationship to service delivery--change. Arranging interagency relationships vertically, parallel to the life cycle, is apparently a less difficult idea than arranging them horizontally, by problem type.

To summarize this discussion, the conversations with agency people in Baltimore seem to indicate a small variety of services that are only coincidentally available to dropouts, and have a large variety of attendant administrative problems. The current solution is one that agency people themselves seem comfortable with: an interagency network that minimizes active coordination while providing for some sequential coordination. The extent to which the proposed Continuous Support and Referral Service can violate these patterns--which it might want to do for the sake of better simultaneous services for dropouts--is of course an open question, to which experience will provide the answer. But more immediately, the existing situation suggests to us the need for skills on the CSR staff for dealing with access and referral problems, a need which we are proposing to meet by making a group of "facilitators" part of the program structure. (See Chapter VII.)

CHAPTER V

FINDINGS FROM A SMALL-SCALE SURVEY OF BALTIMORE DROPOUTS

This chapter is a summary of findings from a survey conducted in Baltimore in the summer of 1977 as part of our planning effort. The survey covered a small number of dropouts (N=99) who were not selected by random procedures;[1] hence, the findings cannot be construed as providing a statistically valid description of the situation of Baltimore inner city dropouts. Nonetheless, they shed some useful light on some of the respondents' concerns.

The respondents were officially listed by the Baltimore City Public Schools as dropouts between September and April of the 1976-77 school year. We gathered data on the circumstances of dropping out, on living arrangements, on labor force attachment, on time expenditures and social networks, and on social program experience. The general intent in the analysis of these data is to get a systematic idea of apparent needs for support and referral, and of the respondent's own views of what a responsive program would provide for.

Dropping Out

It has been argued earlier, and is affirmed for this group, that "dropping out" is not necessarily a permanent status: half the respondents reported plans to return to school in the fall of 1977.[2] Blacks more often than whites reported that they planned to return to school; this was especially the case among the black women (75%).

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[1] This was a quota sample, equally divided by race, sex, and level of school (junior/senior high school).

[2] This proportion changes only slightly when the data are weighted to reflect the actual sex/race composition of the dropout population in Baltimore (according to BCPS records).

TABLE 6

PLANS TO RETURN TO SCHOOL,
BY SEX AND RACE

	Percent Planning to Return, Fall 1977
White men (22)	23
Black men (25)	56
White women (25)	44
Black women (24)	75

Some of these responses may be expressions more of wish than of intent. At any rate, ten percent of those saying they would return to school were more than 18 years old, and could expect to find that normal routes back into regular public school would be closed to them (though such alternative schooling opportunities as evening adult school or community colleges would not be, of course).

Those who did not intend to return to school most often left because they had problems with school itself ("didn't like school," "didn't get along with the people there," "wasn't learning anything"). Only among the white women did this reason account for fewer than half the responses. About one-sixth were suspended or expelled from school; a third of the black respondents left school under those circumstances. The women, but not the men, sometimes left school because they were needed at home. Among the whites, and particularly the white women, school desegregation was a factor in dropping out.

Over one fourth of the respondents had dropped out of school at least once before the latest incident which led us to them for interviewing. Although the proportion who had dropped out before was similar for each sex/race group, repeated dropouts were slightly more common among the white respondents.

About a third of the respondents had had second thoughts about dropping out the most recent time, especially the white men. Almost none of this was due to pressures to finish school from family or friends, but primarily to a belief that education is a factor in a successful life.

TABLE 7

WHY RESPONDENT LEFT SCHOOL THIS TIME (AMONG NONRETURNERS)[a]
BY SEX AND RACE
(In Percentages)

	Men		Women	
	White (16)	Black (9)	White (13)	Black (6)
Problems with the institution. . .	50	56	31	50
Race problems.	13	-	38	-
Suspended/expelled	12	33	-	33
To work.	13	-	-	-
Needed at home	-	-	23	17
Other.	12	11	8	-

[a]Data only available for those who did not plan to return (N=44) and for those who had dropped out at least one time before (N=16). Among the latter group, "suspended-expelled" and "to work" were the most frequently cited reasons.

TABLE 8

EARLIER DROPOUT EPISODES, BY SEX AND RACE

	Percent Who Dropped Out at Least Once Before
White men (21)	33
Black men (25)	24
White women (25)	36
Black women (24)	25

With particular respect to the school-labor force connection, about two-thirds of the respondents answered that those with high school diplomas have an easier time finding work than dropouts do.[3] Thus, the belief in the longer-run benefits of education is fairly high, the comfort with available educational institutions low.

[3]But 28 percent said that a diploma does not give its possessor a competitive advantage in the labor market.

Current Living Situation

The living situations of these respondents are of interest for several reasons: they may provide some clues about important people in the dropout's social setting, who might be enlisted to cooperate with a support and referral system, or should be taken into account in designing and implementing it. Over 90 percent of the respondents live with their families.[4] Twenty percent of the respondents' families include an offspring of the dropout; the white women are especially likely (40%) to be mothers. Among the whites the tendency is to be living in male-headed families, among the blacks in female-headed households. The heads of 17 percent of these families do not work; this is especially the case for the female-headed families (21% of whites, 26% of blacks). Of the employed household heads, the majority of the whites are blue collar workers; the blacks are relatively more often white collar workers (men) or service employees (women).

Labor Force Attachment

Although most of these respondents have a history of labor force attachment, their work histories have been brief and sporadic. Sixty percent have worked at some time, usually in a service occupation, but for only a short time (three months was the median, but two respondents had worked as much as two years); mean earnings "last year" were $353.

TABLE 9

LABOR FORCE HISTORY, BY SEX AND RACE

	Percent Who Ever Worked
White men (23)	87
Black men (25)	68
White women (25)	56
Black women (26)	35

Those who had worked in the past left their last jobs primarily because the jobs themselves ended (47%), but often also because they quit. The blacks were the more likely to have left their most recent jobs because they ended--they were only summer jobs, for instance--while the whites relatively more often left on their own initiative.

[4]Two respondents are married, two live with relatives, one lives with a friend, and one lives alone.

TABLE 10

WHY LEFT LAST JOB, BY SEX AND RACE
(In Percentages)

	Men		Women	
	White (19)	Black (18)	White (13)	Black (9)
Quit	44	22	37	17
Fired, laid off	22	-	37	-
Summer job only	11	44	25	67
Temporary job only	22	22	-	-
Other	-	11	-	17

At the time of interview, 74 percent of the respondents were in the labor force; the percentage was highest for white men, lowest for white women. But only 36 percent actually had jobs--overall, the unemployment rate for those in the labor force is 64 percent. Unemployment is higher among the women than the men, and highest of all (80%) among the black women. For most subgroups, the unemployment rate tends to parallel the labor force participation rate, suggesting that demand well exceeds the supply of jobs for this age group. That more than that is involved, however, is illustrated by the situation of the white men: they have the highest labor force participation rate of all respondents, but the lowest unemployment rate.

TABLE 11

LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION AND UNEMPLOYMENT RATES,
BY SEX AND RACE

	Percent in Labor Force	Percent Unemployed Among Those in Labor Force
White men (25)	87	45
Black men (22)	72	67
White women (24)	64	69
Black women (25)	73	80

These subgroup differences show up also in answers about respondents' perceptions about the reasons for failure to find work when they had sought it in the past. While most ascribe their inability to find work to age or to lack of training or experience, the white men much more often than others ascribe past problems to recessionary factors, and considerably less often to age or lack of training or experience.

TABLE 12

REASONS UNABLE TO FIND WORK IN PAST SEARCHES, BY SEX AND RACE (In Percentages)

	Men		Women	
	White (20)	Black (21)	White (21)	Black (21)
Age.	20	29	38	33
Lack of training, education, experience	20	57	43	28
Recession.	30	5	-	10
Lack of information on available work	5	5	-	5
Health problems.	5	-	5	-
Other.	10	5	-	19
Don't know why	10	-	14	5

Social Networks and Social Integration

We were interested in exploring the ways in which the respondents routinely relate to their world--whether there is evidence that they are a group of isolated, drifting people or, alternatively, are well-integrated, with multiple ties to the community and a variety of resources on which to draw for aid and direction. In this connection, we examined specifically typical time expenditure patterns; who the respondent named as "someone who cares most about what happens to you;" and with whom s/he ever talks about the future.

Time Use.--Data on hour-by-hour expenditures of time "yesterday" were averaged to develop profiles of the typical 24-hour weekday for each sex/race group.[5] Several important characteristics of these data should be considered. The interviewing was conducted during the summer months, and time allocations to school are likely to be lower than they would be in other seasons; similarly, time spent at work may be seasonally high, if these respondents' past work histories are generalizeable to the time data. Furthermore, the time data are descriptive of entire sex/race subgroups, and do not refer to the time allocations of individuals. Thus, while the average time spent on home responsibilities by the white women is 2.8 hours, some individuals reported as many as 10 hours on these activities "yesterday," while nine (45%) of the white women spent no time at all that way. Put another way, the group of white women spent 2.8 hours on household activities, but the individuals who actually spent any time at all that way spent an average of five hours, while nearly half spent none. This is best illustrated in Table 13 (page 56), which shows that participation in some activities was characteristic of only a minority of respondents. Aside from sleeping and care of self, only visiting, watching TV or listening to music and home responsibilities (among the women) were reported by a majority. Thus, averaged data of the sort presented in Table 14 have some limitations, although they allow for useful descriptions of general group differences in time use.

For all respondents, the most time-consuming activity during a weekday--about 4.5 hours--is visiting with friends and family. Another 2.4 hours is spent watching television or listening to music.[6] Taking care of responsibilities around the house ranks third in time expenditures among all respondents, followed by working or looking for work, and eating and care of self. Such other activities as school, sports, reading, or "nothing" take up relatively small parts of the average weekday. When activities are grouped into those which are personal, school or work-

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[5]"Yesterday" was a week day for 73 respondents.

[6]In general, these activities rank the same both for the average amount of time spent on them and for the proportion of respondents doing them.

related (including housework and child care), and "other" (TV, visiting, sports, etc.), it appears that about 60 percent of the 16-hour day, or about nine hours, is time during which the respondents have no particular formal responsibilities, and which might be available for attractive alternative activities.[7]

TABLE 13

PERCENT OF RESPONDENTS PARTICIPATING IN AN ACTIVITY BY RACE AND SEX[a]

	Men		Women	
	White (15)	Black (18)	White (20)	Black (20)
Bathing, eating, care of self. .	100	100	100	100
Working, looking for work. . . .	53	28	25	20
In school.	20	6	5	10
Home responsibilities.	20	44	55	75
Visiting	94	78	85	80
Athletics, recreation.	27	44	10	10
Television, music.	73	78	60	85
Reading.	-	6	-	5
Nothing.	13	11	10	5
Other activities	33	11	40	20
Sleeping	100	100	100	100

[a]Only responses from persons who reported weekday activities are included.

[7]This is not meant to overlook the considerable importance in the socialization and maturation of young people of visiting or watching TV, nor to ignore whatever intrinsic value such activities may have for their participants. The point is merely that these respondents report a number of hours which appear to be unobligated in a formal sense.

There are some interesting variations among the sex/race groups in their weekday time allocations (see Table 14). To summarize some of them:

men spend more time than women at work, looking for work, or in school;

among women, most of the time spent at work is spent babysitting someone else's child; only one of the women had another kind of job;

white men spend unusually little time on chores around the home or in child care (but more in school); black men seem to offset labor force time with housework--usually paint-up, fix up work;

whites watch television or listen to music for less time than blacks do, by an hour to an hour and a half a day, and spend less time reading;

black women further deviate from the group as a whole in the time they spend sleeping, watching TV or listening to music, and visiting with friends. While visiting claims the greatest proportion of the day (about five hours) for other respondents, it accounts for only three hours of the black women's day; their TV/music and sleeping time expenditures are correspondingly higher.

TABLE 14

AVERAGE HOURS SPENT ON DIFFERENT ACTIVITIES, PER 24 HOUR DAY, BY SEX AND RACE[a]

	Men		Women	
	White (15)	Black (18)	White (20)	Black (20)
Bathing, eating, care of self. . .	1.5	1.4	1.5	2.0
Working, looking for work.	3.1	2.2	1.3	.9
In school.	1.6	.4	.3	.6
Home responsibilities.	.4	2.1	2.8	2.9
Visiting	5.2	4.2	5.8	2.9
Athletics, recreation.	1.0	2.1	.3	.3
Television, music.	1.4	2.4	1.9	3.6
Reading.	none	.1	none	.2
Nothing specific	.2	.3	.4	.1
Other activities	1.0[b]	.1	.8	.5
Sleeping	8.6	8.7	8.9	10.0

[a]Activities given above and average hours spent are for weekdays only; only responses from persons who reported weekday activities are included.

[b]Includes a six-hour out-of-town shopping trip--otherwise, the mean is .6 hours.

Who cares most.--All but one of the respondents named an individual who they thought was most concerned about his or her life. The majority of each sex/race group mentioned a family member, though this was considerably more frequent among the blacks (92-96%) than among the whites (76-78%), who were relatively more likely to mention a peer. This does not, of course, indicate anything about the level, quality, or area of concern. In order to learn more about this aspect, we asked the respondents for information on the people with whom they ever talk about the future.

Who discusses the future.--On this indicator, there is more evidence of isolation. Overall, 41 percent of the respondents said that there is no one with whom they ever talk about the future.[8]

TABLE 15

PEOPLE WITH WHOM RESPONDENT DISCUSSES THE FUTURE, BY SEX, RACE, AND SCHOOL LEVEL (In Percentages)

	Men				Women			
	White		Black		White		Black	
Junior High	(12)		(12)		(12)		(14)	
Family	25[a]	33[b]	8	20	50	67	36	56
Others	50	67	33	80	25	33	29	44
No one	25		58		25		36	
Senior High	(11)		(13)		(13)		(12)	
Family	18	50	46	67	38	62	33	80
Others	18	50	23	33	23	38	8	20
No one	64		31		38		58	

[a]Proportion among all in the subgroup.

[b]Proportion among those who do talk with someone.

[8]Note, however, that we did not ask whether respondents wanted to do so.

Among those who do engage in such conversations, about half said they talked with a family member, half with someone else (usually a peer). Outside the family, women seem to rely slightly more than men on peers in this respect, men slightly more on such people as counselors, teachers, or juvenile workers.

It is interesting to note that, except for the black men, the proportion who report that they have no one with whom to talk about the future increases with age: among dropouts from junior high school, about a third are so isolated, but this is true for nearly half of the senior high school dropouts. Further, while the reliance on family members for these discussions drops as the respondents get older (again, excepting the black men), the reliance is not transferred to others outside the family. Instead, the proportion mentioning others also falls between the junior and senior high school levels. Thus, there seems to be an increase in isolation levels with age, rather than the gradual shifting away from involvement with the family toward integration in a broader social network, a process which is usually thought to be associated with maturation.

The data for black men indicate that they follow a different patterned sequence: from an earlier very high level of isolation to relatively frequent reliance on other people--especially family members--and quite a low level of isolation (but not a zero level: nearly a third of them reported that they do not discuss the future with anyone).

Even among those who talk over the future with others, the majority in each sex/race group does so not to seek specific help so much as just to talk, primarily about life in general (47%) or work-related matters (30%).

Taken together, the data rather consistently indicate a noticeable level of isolation and aimlessness among these respondents. Relatively speaking, the cumulative disadvantage lies with the women, and most often with the black women:

family head is out of the labor force (black)
respondent has a child (white)
respondent has no work experience (black)
left school because of dislike or interaction problems (black)
suspended or expelled from school (black)
left school because of discomfort with black students (white)
had no second thoughts about dropping out (black)
spends more time in relative isolation or sleeping (black)
has no one with whom to talk over the future (black).

The implications of these data are discussed in a later section of this chapter.

Former and Desired Program Experience

Many of the respondents had had previous contact with social programs in Baltimore. Forty-three percent had sought help before, and were most often looking for help in finding a job. Aside from that, blacks more often than whites sought job training, and women were more likely than men to be seeking financial help.

TABLE 16

PROGRAM HELP SOUGHT IN THE PAST, BY SEX AND RACE (In Percentages)

	Men		Women	
	White (23)	Black (25)	White (25)	Black (26)
None	61	48	64	53
Mayor's Office[a]	4	32	12	31
Job Corps	-	8	12	4
Department of Social Services	-	-	4	8
Baltimore City Public Schools	17	8	-	4
Other	17	4	8	-

[a]Includes CETA, Harbor City Learning Center.

The majority of those who looked for agency help went to either the Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources (MOMR) or the Job Corps. Blacks more often sought help from MOMR; white women were most likely to approach the Job Corps, white men the public school system. Sixty percent of those who sought agency help received none (although a fifth of that group was put on a waiting list for services).

Of those who could remember where they had learned of the program to which they had applied, most mentioned interpersonal information networks, especially their friends. Relatively few of the respondents got to the program on the basis of information disseminated by official sources or the media. Generally, the black respondents more often than the whites learned of the program through friends or family or, in the case of the black men, found out about it on their own. Whites, on the other hand, were more likely to have learned of the program via media sources or, among the white men, from the Juvenile Court.

TABLE 17

HOW RESPONDENT LEARNED ABOUT LOCAL SOCIAL PROGRAMS, BY SEX AND RACE
(In Percentages)

	Men		Women	
	White (10)	Black (14)	White (9)	Black (12)
Personal networks	20	50	33	59
Self	-	21	-	-
Officials	50	7	-	8
Media	20	-	22	8
Don't remember, don't know	10	21	44	25

When they were asked to describe "a program to help people who have quit school," a large majority of the respondents (especially among the whites) mentioned skill training; and nearly everyone mentioned help in finding a job. Substantial majorities of each sex/race group mentioned that such a program should include referral to educational programs. Forty percent mentioned that it should provide financial assistance (but this was mentioned much more often by the whites).

TABLE 18

DESIRABLE FEATURES OF A PROGRAM FOR DROPOUTS, BY SEX AND RACE

	Percent Mentioning			
	Men		Women	
	White (23)	Black (25)	White (25)	Black (26)
Referral to job training	100	72	92	77
Job training	96	100	96	62
Referral to educational programs	74	72	72	62
Job placement	91	100	100	96
Financial aid	52	16	48	8
Other	22	-	8	4

While nearly all the respondents want help in finding work or training, considerably smaller proportions want to share decision-making about their future. The men are especially likely to want to make their own decisions, while the women--and particularly the black women--are prepared to share the decision-making with others. The reason most often mentioned for wanting to make decisions about the future alone is that the respondent is able to think for him/herself, and does not need that kind of help. Reasons for sharing decisions included the felt need for another opinion (among the women) and for some form of sponsorship, advocacy, or other means of gaining access to local training and employment opportunities (among the men).

Program Implications

One way to summarize these survey findings is to do so in terms of their bearing on whether and how to design a continuous support and referral system for dropouts in Baltimore. There does seem to be room for a program which could offer an alternative source of information and

interpersonal support. For example, although nearly all the respondents live at home (and about half in intact families), the family appears to be a central focus of integration and socialization for only a relatively small proportion, perhaps a third. Further, there is evidence that the respondents have a large amount of unobligated time available which might be spent in alternative ways. The rather consistent indications of aimlessness, drift, and the lack of some sense of "connectedness" suggest there is a role for a program which could provide mechanisms for engaging people like these respondents in systematic efforts, to move toward organizing their lives somewhat differently.

There seem to be two themes in the data bearing on this point. One has to do with respondents' interpersonal needs, as when they report not having anyone with whom to discuss the future, or when they argue in favor of decision-making autonomy. The other theme is an instrumental one: about half the respondents expressed an interest in returning to school, and usually put the interest in terms of its bearing on later success in the labor market. Further, past attempts to obtain help from local agencies have involved seeking work or training, and nearly everyone would like to get into a program which offers job opportunities.

Although we did not design the survey to study the relative weights of expressive and instrumental factors in the respondents' lives, we are left with the clear impression that neither should be the exclusive focus of attention in the design of a continuous support and referral system. The balance certainly is different for the different subgroups, as the data have shown. The isolation implied by long hours of sleep, many hours of television-watching or household responsibilities seems to be greater for the women than for the men. Isolation which manifests itself by having no one with whom to talk over the future appears to be greater for the older respondents, and especially for the white men who dropped out of senior high school. The expressive need suggested by the desire to make one's own decisions is greater for the men than for the women. The instrumental needs represented by current unemployment are relatively greatest among the black women. Needs implied

in a wish to return to school are greater among blacks, both men and women, and especially the black women.

These survey findings have been integrated with what we have learned of Baltimore's social program resource levels, public school alternatives, employment opportunities for youth, training opportunities for members of low-income families, and local social service support systems in our development of a design for the proposed support and referral system.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLUMBIA CONFERENCE

A 1 1/2 day meeting was held in Columbia, Maryland on June 13 and 14, 1977, for the purpose of discussing the proposed design for the referral and support system with a group of knowledgeable experts and eliciting their reactions and suggestions. The participants included representatives of Federal agencies with an interest in this problem, Baltimore school and manpower agency personnel, and researchers active in the field. The following persons attended:

Invitees

Donna Anderson
Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources
Baltimore, Maryland

Robert W. Armacost
Deputy Superintendent
Division for Planning, Research and Evaluation
Baltimore City Public Schools
Baltimore, Maryland

Paul Barton, Senior Associate for Policy Development
National Manpower Institute
Washington, D.C.

Rita Bortz, Coordinator
Office of Pupil Services
Baltimore City Public Schools
Baltimore, Maryland

Carolyn Boston
Coordinator and Staff Director
Guidance and Placement
Baltimore City Public Schools
Baltimore, Maryland

Lois-ellin Datta
Assistant Director, Education and Work Group
National Institute of Education
Washington, D.C.

Monserrat Diaz
Special Emphasis Program
National Institute on Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, LEAA
Washington, D.C.

Diane Edwards
Office of Research and Development
Employment and Training Administration, DOL
Washington, D.C.

Marcia Freedman
Conservation of Human Resources Project
Columbia University
New York, N.Y.

Kathryn Howe
Utilization Division
Employment and Training Administration, DOL
Washington, D.C.

Robert Ivry
Coordinator of Youth Services
Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources
Baltimore, Maryland

Sandra Johnson
Northside Center for Child Development
New York, N.Y.

Kenneth Lenihan
New York, New York

Elliot Liebow
Chief, Center for Studies
of Metropolitan Problems
National Institute of Mental
Health, DHEW
Rockville, Maryland

Robert Lloyd
Assistant Superintendent
Division of Public Services
and Development
Baltimore City Public Schools
Baltimore, Maryland

Walter Miller
The Law School
Harvard University
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Howard Rosen, Director
Office of Research and Development
Employment and Training
Administration, DOL
Washington, D.C.

Michael Rubinger
Manpower Demonstration Research
Corporation
New York, New York

Nicholas Zill, Staff Scientist
Foundation for Child Development
New York, New York

Bureau of Social Science Research

Laure M. Sharp, Project Director
Ann Richardson, Project Co-Director
Carol Greenhouse, Research Analyst
Neil Bomberg, Research Analyst
Lottie Mosher, Research Analyst
Purisima K. Tan, Administrative Assistant

BSSR staff presented background material about the project and data collected in Baltimore on the magnitude of the dropout problem, the characteristics of dropouts, and Baltimore community resources and the conditions under which these could be made available to the dropout population. The conferees were asked to identify related projects in which they had participated or with which they were familiar. Of special interest were reports on activities sponsored by the National Institute of Education (in particular the Career Intern Project, carried out by OIC), a Vista Project in progress in Seattle, and the MARC program in New York (a demonstration peer counseling program for female dropouts, sponsored by DOL). The attention of the conferees was also directed to the work of Shore and Massimo who 25 years ago carried out a small research project involving simultaneous psychotherapy and job placement for dropouts; a long-term follow-up component demonstrated positive results. (These studies are described in detail in Chapter II of this report).

Several Baltimore participants described on-going local programs, in particular the Harbor City and PREP work/study programs for former dropouts, and special in-school programs for truant, overage or academically deficient students. (See Chapter III.)

Much of the discussion at Columbia revolved around two problems. The conferees were concerned about the usefulness of "demonstration" programs, since these are seldom adopted on a large scale even if proven successful because implementation depends on political and economic factors which have little to do so with the merit of the demonstration. The second topic was the more general concern with the poor job market for young people, which led several participants to question the usefulness of any program which would promote training or education for non-existent jobs. Realistic alternatives to paid employment, such as volunteer activities with or without government stipends, recreational activities and youth business ventures were among the options recommended for consideration, since continuous and well-paid employment was likely to elude these young people for some years to come and perhaps for much of their adult lives.

There were only a few specific suggestions from the panel of experts concerning the proposed project. In general, they reacted favorably to the "locus of responsibility" theme of the proposal and made several specific suggestions for structuring the service. One panelist suggested a two-phase project, with the first year spent on information gathering, so that the project could be better focussed once the needs of dropouts had been assessed. Attention was also called to the special needs of women dropouts (child care, sex education). Several participants suggested program emphasis on group or collective work projects, rather than individual placement. The need for integration of community services aimed at youths was also of concern, and the opportunity inherent in the project to promote such integration in Baltimore was seen as a major attraction of the proposed activity.

CHAPTER VII

GENERAL OUTLINES OF A CONTINUING SUPPORT AND REFERRAL SYSTEM, AND A PROPOSED EVALUATION STRATEGY

It might be well to restate our working hypothesis and the goals of the continuous support and referral (CSR) program. We have been working on the hypothesis that once young people have dropped out of school, they receive little help, guidance and supervision in dealing with their educational and social needs, although their needs are often very great because of their age, their social situation, and their educational deficits. The goal of the program is to structure a continuous support system which can provide access to community resources and help young dropouts to make productive use of their adolescent years. It is not designed to find a job for every participant, nor to get every one of them back into school, nor to provide each with a high school diploma. Indeed, more and more we are discovering that our society has not found a way to provide these things for every young person and, perhaps more important, that there need not be a rigid time schedule to achieve these goals. Not having a high school diploma at 18 or being a 15-year-old mother need not necessarily rule out future schooling or the possibilities of leading a productive life at 25. We also know, however, that to be young, not in school, socially isolated, and engaged in few active pastimes is likely to be damaging, and likely to limit later access to jobs or to inhibit constructive personal and family functioning. It has recently become fashionable to think of social institutions (such as schools or jails) as aging vats: places where young persons essentially tread time, until some of the special difficulties which many young people experience--and for which we have not developed good solutions--will go away because of the sheer passage of years. To some extent, the program we are proposing recognizes the validity of this viewpoint, but seeks to facilitate and channel this maturation process for disadvantaged youngsters.

The objective of the CSR program is to help make the adolescent years constructive ones by helping young dropouts acquire positive experiences and skills; by helping them to deal with specific health or family problems which may have affected their functioning in the past; and by structuring opportunities for the kinds of social interaction which facilitate the maturation process, the testing out of personal and career goals, and the successful negotiation of a stage of exceptional vulnerability in the life of individuals. We have seen that such opportunities are not readily available through families, schools, community agencies, or private practitioners.

In this chapter, we describe the basic elements of a CSR system: program recruitment, program activities, staffing, and administration. Since this is to be a demonstration project, we also have planned for evaluation of the program. Much of the material in this chapter refers to Baltimore, since our planning efforts have been centered on that city as a potential test site for the program. However, the program outline is designed to be generally applicable, with only minor changes required to adapt to specific local circumstances.

Program Design

Participants

To be eligible for the CSR program, a dropout must be between 16 and 19 years old, not currently enrolled in regular public school and not a high school graduate, neither severely handicapped nor in need of intensive psychiatric/psychological treatment, and (if the program is to be administered by a CETA prime sponsor--see below) eligible for participation in a CETA Title I or Title III program.

When the CSR program is notified that a student has become a dropout, a member of the program staff will contact the young person, determine whether s/he is eligible for the program, describe the program, and invite him or her to participate. Each dropout who accepts the invitation to join the program will be assigned to a program staff buddy,[1] with whom

[1]We have chosen this term with deliberation, with the intention of conveying the notions of concern, responsibility, and assistance which are ordinarily associated with the word. The buddy role is described in more detail below, and in Fo and O'Donnell (1972).

s/he will work on a personal plan of action, during his or her stay in the program.

Sources of Participant Recruitment

We have explored two kinds of participant recruitment bases--selected junior and senior high schools, and a neighborhood. As we have described in earlier project documents, we could say that the potential participant population consists of all those who appear as dropouts in the records of a limited number of public schools. This has the operational advantage of relatively easy identification of the population, and an unambiguous (though not invariably valid) statement of the individual's status as a dropout.

While we have not designated the specific schools which might be included in the project, we have gathered information for each of the public schools in Baltimore on its number of dropouts, its dropout rate, and the race and sex composition of its student body and dropout population. These data indicate that there is a fairly large pool of candidate schools at both junior and senior high school levels which have a large enough number of dropouts of different sex and race characteristics from which to select for the project.

There are several problems associated with this approach to recruitment, however, that have to do with both operational and research issues. Operationally, because there are often rather substantial delays between the time a student withdraws from school and the time s/he is officially designated a dropout, it is to be expected that it will be difficult to find many of the potential participants. It would be a mistake to ignore these hard-to-find youth, however, since they are likely to be of special interest to the project (they may be more socially isolated, for example, or more in need of the sorts of information, referral, and support to be offered in the CSR program). It will be important, then, for the outreach recruitment effort to include a thorough search for all dropouts from the schools to be included in the demonstration project.

The delays in school system record-keeping may also have the effect of decreasing the number of dropouts who will be eligible for the program because, for instance, they have returned to school, they have reached their 20th birthdays, and so forth.

Another factor in this recruitment approach is that in Baltimore there is a busing program in effect for the junior high schools, and program participants who dropped out of junior high school will be living in many different parts of the city. This could complicate the work of the CSR program staff to whom those dropouts are assigned, and involve long traveling distances for staff and participants alike. However, since we envision a highly decentralized program operation in general, with relatively little activity taking place in a central office location, the geographic scatter of the junior high school participants may not pose serious problems.

The potential methodological problems associated with using the former school as the recruitment base have to do with the need for research purposes to select a control or comparison group of dropouts by which to judge the effects of participation in the CSR program, and the choice of specific subject schools will be critical in this matter. We could use for a comparison the population of dropouts from schools which "match" those from which the participants dropped out. But there is likely to be a great deal of difficulty in achieving a match which is good enough to insure against taking as program effects what are in reality effects due to unmeasured--or inadequately measured--characteristics of the schools in question. While statistical approaches can help to reduce some (though not all) of the confounding effects of interschool differences on measured dimensions, there is no such way to correct for what may be important differences in variables which have been overlooked or eliminated from consideration in the matching process. Nor does matching on "every conceivable" variable of relevance offer much reassurance in a finite population of schools, since the greater the number of variables to be taken into account the harder it is to achieve a good enough match.

As an alternative, the project could be designed partially along experimental lines with random assignment of dropouts <u>from the same schools</u> to an experimental group (those who will be invited to join the CSR program) and a control group. This would help to gain control over school-related effects on outcomes, and would assure us (within probabilistic limits) of the preprogram equivalence of the two groups. This option does not, however, provide safeguards against drawing conclusions about apparent program effects which are in fact due to differences between those who volunteer for the program and those who do not. So long as the

program is voluntary, there is no full solution to this problem, though careful analysis of the follow-up data, using appropriate statistical procedures to adjust partially for antecendent intergroup differences, can increase our confidence in the findings.

An additional shortcoming of this plan is that it requires that the subject schools have a large enough number of dropouts to provide the number of cases needed for analysis: about 400 program participants and an approximately equal number of control/comparison dropouts. If we are to plan to offer the CSR program to dropouts from both junior and senior high school, we would need to select schools with 400 or more dropouts during the period of program recruitment. Relatively few individual Baltimore schools have such large numbers of dropouts; this is especially the case with the junior high schools. While there is no particular practical reason not to choose a larger number of schools, to do so would reintroduce the problem of simultaneous variation in individuals and in schools which could affect in uncontrolled ways data which are pooled across separate schools.

Quite a different approach would be to use a neighborhood as the recruitment base. This would have the advantage for the evaluation effort of eliminating some of the methodological problems described above. In addition, in the neighborhood recruitment approach program participants and comparison dropouts would share the same general immediate environment (program alternatives, employment opportunities, recreational facilities, etc.).[2]

On the other hand, however, a neighborhood program could run the risk that demand would outstrip the number of program slots, once word is passed along local communication lines that the new opportunity is available, and both the program and the neighborhood could be faced with intolerable competition for participation space.

Further, since public school records of the last known address of dropouts would not be useful for identifying junior high school dropouts

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[2]Note that, in Baltimore, these different recruiting plans would be roughly the same for senior high school dropouts (at any rate, for those who have not moved since dropping out), since the high schools there are zoned, or neighborhood-based.

who live in the program neighborhood, it would be necessary to initiate a house-to-house screening operation to locate this group of program-eligible people. While a screening activity could be carried out with relative ease shortly before the beginning of program operations, it is likely to be a more cumbersome means of recruitment than is the use of public school records.

Although the final decisions on this matter must await other decisions on the project site and the level of funding for the demonstration, we are inclined to favor the school-based recruitment approach, which offers fewer potential operating problems, despite the greater technical difficulties it entails.

Program Substance

This is to be a highly exploratory project, designed to make it possible to observe systematically the effects on participants of the provision of continuous support, together with information on and referral to community educational, training, employment, and social services resources. It is consistent with that objective to leave to participants and buddies a good deal of discretion about what concrete activities the participants will undertake. Thus, the requirement that regular contact, continuous support, and referral to local resources shall in fact be made available to participants is the fundamental rule of the CSR program. Beyond that, participants and buddies may devise any plan of action--or a series of such plans--which appears to them to be constructive from the participant's point of view, so long as the plan does not involve illegal activities. In addition to such conventional plans as returning to school, entering a training program, or finding a paid job, these may also include, for example, recreational or hobby activities, volunteer work, small-scale entrepreneurial undertakings, training in homemaking (nutrition, budget management, etc.), and other alternatives from a very broad range of productive activities.

Although details of the substance of individual program activity will be determined largely by participants, certain basic elements appear to be desirable, and participants and staff will be strongly encouraged to proceed along these lines.

Staff and participants will explore and develop the participant's objectives, capacities and needs, in order to arrive at a tentative plan for next steps. These objectives may range from such a specific one as enrolling in a training program to such a general one as having someone with whom regularly to talk over the future. These objectives, may, of course, change from time to time. Participants and their buddies will be encouraged to move together from the general to the specific and concrete, with the goal of getting and keeping the participant systematically involved in activities which are productive for him or her.

They will explore the availability of relevant local agencies or persons who can meet or further the agreed-upon objectives.

They will also explore the availability of local resources to address intermediate objectives, such as day care arrangements or other social services, completion of the GED, and so forth.

Regular contact between participant and buddy and continued attention to development and pursuit of the participant's individual objective(s) will continue throughout the participant's stay in the CSR program, for as long as one year.[3] While the substance of participation will change as the participant's situation and activities change, the objective will always be to provide continuous interpersonal support and to make needed information and referral help available to participants as needs arise.

Program Staffing

In considering how most effectively to staff the CSR program, it can be argued that a direct-contact program such as this, and especially one which involves the development of sustained interpersonal relationships, is best staffed by people who are rough agemates of the clientele, who have similar school and social backgrounds, who have been somewhat (though not vastly) more successful in their lives than have the participants, and who are of the same sex and race or ethnic backgrounds as their clients.

However, a focus on other aspects of the buddy role, such as the investigation of local resources which might be used by the participant in his or her individual plan of action, or intercession with potential resource providers, suggests that the program would benefit most if it were staffed

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[3] There may be instances in which, after a CSR participant enters another program (e.g., training), some of the services provided in the CSR program become redundant, and duplicate those offered as part of participation in the other activity. In cases of "dual participation" which involve duplication of services or jurisdictional disputes, the CSR contact will be suspended for the duration of the other activity.

with older, more experienced, knowledgeable, influential, more middle class persons, who may also act as useful authority figures.

In weighing the pros and cons of these alternative approaches to staffing the CSR program, we have attempted to realize both kinds of advantages by including young direct-contact workers (buddies) as well as older facilitators, who will work closely together as a team on the participant's behalf.

Buddies.--The program staff will include a group of young workers in the buddy role, who will maintain continuous direct contact with participants, be responsible for outreach recruitment to the program, and see that support and referral efforts are available. This role can be more fully described by such descriptors as these: a source of regular and consistent interpersonal support; an information source; a role model; a sponsor or advocate (where appropriate); and a source of encouragement for participants to develop and continue to pursue their objectives.

Facilitators.--The program staff also will include older persons who will provide backup services to participants and buddies, and develop information on local training, education, employment, and social services resources which can be used for referral purposes. Many of the descriptors for the buddy role apply also to that of facilitator. The main difference is one of emphasis, with the greater stress here on basic information-gathering; liaison with other agencies; and development of new opportunities, where that is possible.

As we have conceptualized it, the three-way participant/buddy/facilitator role relationship is defined less by inflexible lines among areas of responsibility than it is by the general rule that program staff members have the responsibility to see that participants are provided with the support, information, and referral services to which the program entitles them. Decisions within each of these relationships about how best to accomplish more concrete individual participants' objectives will be one of the most interesting and central aspects of the research on the program.

Sources for Staff Recruitment

One of the primary objectives of the demonstration project is to test the feasibility of assignment of responsibility for keeping in regular touch

with the dropouts who participate in the program. Certainly, one of the critical aspects of this assessment is to examine what mode of staffing best fits that part of the demonstration effort. A related dimension of the general question is whether there are feasible--and less expensive, in terms of direct cost--alternatives to ordinary private employment or state civil service staffing practices. Several possibilities are discussed in this section.

At the volunteerism extreme, the CSR program could rely for staff on community volunteers who express an interest in being of help to the participants. However, judging by the experiences of other programs which depend for operating staff on unpaid volunteers (and including two major youth-oriented programs, Big Brothers and Big Sisters), this kind of staffing plan is highly unpredictable, typically undersubscribed, and often, though not always, involves quite short tenure by direct-contact staff.

There are paid "volunteer" programs which might prove to be useful sources of program staff, at little or no direct cost to the project. In particular, it may be possible to draw on one or another of the domestic programs of the ACTION agency, such as VISTA, the University Year for Action, or the Retired Senior Volunteer Program. The permissible length of individual volunteer participation in these programs is generally consistent with the expected length of the demonstration phase of the project (for VISTA, for example, not less than one year, not more than two), and it seems likely that the project would qualify as a sponsor for an ACTION contingent. Two problems may emerge with this alternative, though neither need necessarily be decisive. One is that making arrangements with the ACTION agency may be too time-consuming to get the program staffed in any reasonable period. The second is that the transition of of the program from the demonstration to regular status (if that should seem desirable after experience with it in the field) could be complicated if the transition also involved a change from ACTION to regular civil service staffing.

Another no-direct-cost staffing possibility might be to investigate whether these staff positions might make suitable Public Service Employment (PSE) positions, to be filled from a variety of program sources,

including the CETA and WIN programs.[4] A problem which this approach could present is whether PSE positions can legitimately be used for a temporary program which is only potentially (and conditionally) permanent. Furthermore, individuals' post-PSE civil service status is typically not at all clear with respect to their positions on civil service registers, which could introduce major discontinuities into a program transition from demonstration to regular status.

Quite a different sort of staffing approach has also been suggested to us: the recruitment of students of graduate programs (particularly those in social work) who may find that work in the CSR program would be a reasonable means by which to satisfy a practicum requirement. This might offer interesting possibilities, so long as practica are typically long enough to ensure maintenance of any given participant/buddy/facilitator relationships for as long as a year. This may not be a no-direct-cost option, though, and could involve some of the same time-consuming interagency arrangements that the ACTION alternative might, together with some of the problems associated with the transition from demonstration to regular program status mentioned earlier. Nor is this an obvious source of older more experienced staff facilitators.

This listing does not exhaust the possibilities, of course, but illustrates some of the major general types of choices which we can expect to be available in most communities. We have not explored any of them in concrete detail, because their relative merit depends so much on local, site-specific situations. For example, in a community in which the majority of PSE positions is set aside for men in the prime working years--or, say, for brand new labor force entrants--the PSE option might offer little potential. Similarly, in some sites there may be no school of social work within any reasonable distance. In short, the local mix of available staffing resources will define to a large extent the range of choice, and decisions on staffing must await such other decisions as test location, the administrative locus of the program in the community (discussed below), and the level of funding for

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[4] We have not entertained another clear potential, PSE positions associated with the Youth Employment and Demonstration Projects Act of 1977, because it is our understanding that the Department of Labor does not wish to test the CSR program in a site which also has received funds under that Act. Should an agency other than DoL fund the field test, however, this additional staffing option may become available.

the demonstration phase. Nonetheless, the range of choice seems to be wide and will be explored at the appropriate time.

Program Administration

We have rejected two possibilities for administration of the CSR program. The first, to have it administered by BSSR as general demonstration and evaluation organization, combines in possibly undesirable ways the implementation and evaluation functions. The second, to establish a new agency, may very well--but not necessarily--lead to partial duplication of services which are already available in the test community (e.g., counseling for youth), and would not effectively utilize resources and youth program experience in the community.

Instead, there are several arguments in favor of putting the program under the general administrative direction of a local agency which has demonstrated experience in working successfully with youth in fairly wide scope. While nearly every city has one or more agencies which deal in one way or another with young clienteles, many agencies (such as the WIN program or the Employment Service) deal only incidentally with youth, while the activities of others are targeted more specifically for youth but have a narrow operational focus (such as the Juvenile Court or the Ys). Ideally we would be able to arrange for administration of the CSR program by an existing agency with a broad range of experience with a clientele which is largely or wholly like that of the public school dropout population.

While the CSR program is to be a separate operation, rather than merged with on-going programs (in order to maintain the research integrity of the project), we see strong advantages in drawing upon the available knowledge and experience of an existing organization and in utilizing its information on and access to other community resources, as well as part of its existing administrative apparatus (e.g., file construction and maintenance, accounting systems). This arrangement would offer the additional advantage that it would facilitate the absorption of the program into the ongoing service community at the end of the demonstration period with a minimum of disruption or discontinuity of service.

The administering agency would have responsibility for

Recruitment and training of CSR staff.

Coordination of outreach recruitment of program participants.

Implementation of the CSR program itself, according to guidelines developed in cooperation with BSSR and DoL.

Coordination with local social services organizations for purposes of arranging for access to available information and referral services by participants, buddies, and other program staff.

Organization of regular staff meetings.

General overall supervision of program operations and staff.

Establishment and maintenance of program records.

Cooperation with BSSR's evaluation research efforts.

If the CSR program is to be tested in Baltimore, it is our judgement that program administration should be assigned to the Mayor's Office of Manpower Resources (MOMR), the CETA prime sponsor in Baltimore, under the supervision of the director of its Youth Manpower Service Center. As described briefly in Chapter III, that agency operates the Harbor City Learning Center and PREP programs. In connection with the establishment and operation of these programs, MOMR has developed close cooperative arrangements with the Baltimore City public schools, which it would be to CSR's advantage to exploit.[5]

If the CSR program were to be tested in a site other than Baltimore, it would, of course, be necessary to conduct a brief investigation of local agency resources to determine their organizational experience and capacity to administer the system on the scale required for the project's research purposes.

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[5]Each of the following agencies in Baltimore has agreed to cooperate with the CSR program, to provide specialized services:

MOMR, to administer the program;
Baltimore City Public Schools, to furnish the names and last known addresses of dropouts from the subject schools;
the Health and Welfare Council of Central Maryland, to provide access to its Information and Referral Service.

Program Costs: Time Table, Staffing Levels, Number of Participants

Because no specific site has been chosen for the program, and the issue of paid versus volunteer staff has not yet been resolved, we find it impossible to prepare a detailed budget for the proposed program. The following considerations should be helpful, however, in estimating funding levels and making operational decisions.

1. In line with the preceding discussion, the following time-table appears to us to be a realistic one:

a. Gearing up for operations (staff recruitment, finalizing participant recruitment plan, finalizing arrangements with schools etc.): 2 months.

b. Participant intake: 6 months.

c. Services to all participants: 12 months from time of intake.

Total program operating time: 20 months.

This time table is proposed because, together with minimal follow-up for evaluation, it spells a project life of about 3 years. It does not follow, however, that a one-year demonstration will yield satisfactory information on which to base future decisions for a major programmatic innovation of the type proposed here. Ideally, the demonstration phase should be continued for 3 years, so that 16-year olds admitted into the program can be retained for the full 3-year period for which the proposed program could be available to them. Because of the high costs and commitment which this presents, we suggest that if the program demonstrates holding power and community acceptance, the entire 20-month project be extended to 44 months, with the strong recommendation that no new cases be taken on after the early intake period, but that the project be continued for an additional 2 years so that the youngest groups of dropouts can continue to receive treatment until they reach the cut-off age (19 years).

2. The number of buddies and facilitators needed to staff the service has been left open. From our preliminary discussion with action agencies, we have received various estimates, suggesting generally a 1/10 staff/participant ratio. Our own, tentative, estimates are therefore for 1 full-time staff member for each 10 participants. Depending on the ratio of buddies to facilitators this might suggest, for example, that for a total of 400 participants we might wish to employ 30 buddies and 10 facilitators. However, because part-time rather than full-time

staffing may be more appropriate, or because the program administrators may see an advantage to a different mix of staff skills, these numbers are highly tentative.

3. The recommended number of participants has been set at 400 in order to make possible a meaningful evaluation of the program. If for budgetary reasons this number is considered unfeasible, it might be possible to restructure the design so as to deal with a smaller treatment group. One solution would be to limit the sex, age or race characteristics of participants (for example limit the program to 16-year old black males). Although we feel that this approach would sharply curtail the utility of the demonstration, it represents an alternative if funding constraints are an overriding concern.

4. Principal program cost components are:

(a) administrative staff (probably 3 full salaried persons, for example, a director, one assistant, and one clerical worker);

(b) buddies/facilitators, if volunteer arrangements are deemed too difficult or otherwise undesirable;

(c) office space (minimal, since this is an outreach activity);

(d) reimbursements to participants, which would be needed to cover certain petty cash expenditures (such as transportation) or for-fee-services (as for testing). No stipends to participants are proposed as part of the program.

Program Evaluation[6]

Our primary strategy for evaluation of the CSR program calls for measurement of program effects on participants using a longitudinal quasi-experimental survey design, in which the experiences of program participants during and following the demonstration period will be contrasted with those of a group of comparable dropouts without exposure to the program. This approach represents the most rigorous, and therefore the most desirable

[6]This section presents only the basic outlines for evaluation of the CSR program. We shall prepare a more detailed and specific plan for research (and an estimated budget for carrying it out) once decisions have been reached on the project site, on its size, and on the participant recruitment approach to be used.

and meaningful, one for separating program from other effects on the outcome measure of interest. At the same time, however, we are fully cognizant of the fact that the use of this type of evaluation design in real settings, as will be the case with the CSR program, is subject to a variety of pitfalls and can be seriously compromised by events in the field. Nonetheless, it is our judgment that this approach is the most fruitful among the realistic alternatives, and that suitable measures can be developed by BSSR to protect the integrity of the evaluation design.

In addition to the primary focus of the evaluation on the effects of the program on participants, we plan to address several other evaluation issues. One is the extent to which program implementation actually takes place. Another is the effect of the program on interagency coordination, i.e., its impact on community agencies. Finally, we plan to look at the extent to which the program affects the attitudes and careers of the staff, in particular the buddies and facilitators. If programs of this type are developed and provide new staff roles and opportunities, it would be useful to have a systematic evaluation of the effects of the program on its staff.

Effects on Participants

To assess the effects of the program on its participants, we shall compare their experiences with those of dropouts with similar characteristics who did not participate in the program. Comparisons will be made on a variety of dimensions, including education/training issues (return to school, acquisition of training, etc.), labor force patterns (participation, unemployment, occupations, out-of-labor-force activities, etc.), family/friendship circle matters (living situation, family formation, childbearing, friendship networks, time use patterns, etc.), and attitudinal characteristics (self-regard, expectations, aspirations, etc.).

Earlier in this chapter, we have already alluded to the difficulties of "matching" treatment and comparison groups and of carrying out random assignment. Even if these difficulties are overcome, there remain troublesome issues of self-selection (since participants are volunteers), program attrition (since participants are not compelled to remain in the program), and loss of study subjects (since a number of participants and members of the comparison group are likely to leave the area because of marriage, military service, hospitalization, incarceration, etc.). Although BSSR

has developed a number of procedures for dealing with these problems it must be recognized from the outset that the number of subjects for whom the full range of follow-up data will become available is likely to be limited. (This is one strong reason for selecting fairly large initial treatment and comparison groups.)

Survey design and substance.--We envision a longitudinal survey approach which will involve a series of three interviews.

1. At the time of invitation to join the program (to be asked of "experimentals" and "controls" both):

   labor force attachment, history;
   time expenditures;
   earnings, occupations, employers;
   education completed since dropping out;
   reason for dropping out;
   family arrangements (children, family, etc.);
   socioeconomic status;
   self-regard;
   previous contacts with local agencies (objective of contact, with which agencies, with what results);
   (for those invited to join CSR program only:) reason(s) for accepting or not accepting the invitation.

2. Six months later (on each respondent's personal anniversary of the first interview):

   changes in items above, and in particular in education, training, and labor force attachment;
   (for CSR program participants only:) program activities in past six months.

3. At the time of leaving the program (for participants):

   update program activity materials;
   personal assessment of program experience;
   (if dropped out of program:) circumstances surrounding dropping out;
   plans for the immediate future.

4. One year later (personal anniversary):

   update time expenditure, labor force, education/training, attitudinal, social network materials since preceding interview.

This series of interviews will provide us with running histories of events and personal situations over an 18-month period, for program participants

and members of the comparison group, and will enable us to study in detail the development of post-school patterns among dropouts and the effects of CSR program participation. Interviewing all those who initially receive the invitation to join the program (at the time of the first interview only--these respondents will be dropped from the interviewing at later stages) will further enable us to study factors in the decision to accept the kind of services offered by the CSR program.[7]

Program Implementation

Since variations in program implementation from one staff member to another and at different times during program operation are quite to be expected in this project (because they invariably occur in all programs which operate in real settings), we propose to make the systematic observation of implementation part of our research effort. This will cover a variety of matters, including administrative decisions as the program is established, changes in operation over time, experiences in developing interagency arrangements and service coordination, and changes in the general environment which appear to be significant for the CSR program (such as the establishment of other program opportunities). Briefly put, the assessment of implementation will involve a detailed history of the demonstration, compiled by on-site research staff trained in systematic field observation. These materials can be used in a variety of ways. For one, they are often very useful in interpreting apparent program effects (or lack of effects) in the evaluation proper. The value of these kinds of data in the evaluation of program outcomes for participants is illustrated in Greenhouse (1977). Further, they will be helpful in later deliberations about whether to continue the program on a regular basis in the test site, and the feasibility of replicating it in other settings.

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[7]That recruitment and enrollment factors are not trivial was demonstrated in the experience of the field test of a Universal Youth Service program in Seattle, in which just ten percent of eligible youth responded to widespread publicity about the availability of the program, which guaranteed a job. While our plans are to use direct-contact outreach recruitment procedures, which should increase the enrollment rate, program participation can be no means to be taken for granted, and should be the object of explicit analysis.

Effects on Community Agencies

There are several reasons to study the effects of the CSR program on other helping agencies in the community. For example, one of the central functions of the program staff activity will be to mobilize the services of a variety of agencies, in order to respond to participants' needs as they are expressed in their individual plans of action. The extent to which this will be possible or effective[8] is an important issue bearing on the feasibility of a CSR system, both in the test city and in others in which it might be implemented on a regular basis.

Another aspect of the impact of the program on other agencies has to do with the possibilities for increasing the demand for access to existing community resources to intolerable levels, which could in turn generate little more than frustration among program participants and staff alike.

Further, careful observation of successful and unsuccessful attempts to develop interagency arrangements and to coordinate services may provide information on gaps in existing services which are not otherwise apparent.

In addressing this issue, we shall use information from a variety of sources, including the second and third interviews with participants, the records of the on-site chroniclers of program implementation, other program records, and data from the second self-administered staff questionnaire (see below). These materials will be pulled together to make a detailed assessment of the relationships between the CSR program and its resource and agency environment.

Effects on Program Staff

This phase of the research will focus on the program staff itself. It has been observed (Riessman, 1965) that social programs often seem to affect their administrators at least as much as they do their clients. This is apparently especially so when the staff members are themselves similar to the program participants. We propose to make this matter the object of systematic attention. The staff-study materials will be interesting and useful both for project purposes (especially for the analysis

[8] Recall from Chapter IV above that interagency cooperation cannot be assumed at all automatically, at least in the case of Baltimore.

of program implementation), and for the more general purposes of policy planners and the research community in gaining fuller understanding of the broader effects of social programs.

This phase of the research will also be conducted in a longtitudinal survey framework. CSR staff members will be asked to respond to self-administered questionnaires at four times.

1. When they join the staff:

   demographic characteristics, socioeconomic status;
   education and educational history (e.g., dropout/dropback);
   previous experience as social program staff member/client;
   pre-program labor force status, occupation, earnings;
   occupational expectations;
   beliefs about and attitudes toward dropouts, disadvantaged populations, youth, social programs, self.

2. Six months later (personal anniversary):

   resurvey of beliefs and attitudes;
   descriptions of how respondent established and maintained program relationship with other staff and with each participant in his or her caseload, together with reports on the program activities of each, as indicators of implementation strategy.

3. At program exit:

   update of above materials;
   (If dropped out of staff:) circumstances surrounding leaving the staff;
   personal assessment of program, including perceived effects on self.

4. One year later (personal anniversary):

   post-program labor force and education experience;
   occupational/career expectations;
   final resurvey of beliefs, attitudes, program assessment.

This series of questionnaires will provide us with data for analysis of a variety of potential program effects on staff, including those on occupations/careers; on earnings; on expectations for the future; and on the direction, magnitude, and permanence of changes in beliefs and attitudes. Put together with data from program participants and from the implementation study, these materials will also give us useful insights on productive and unproductive recruitment and program administrative practices.

Taken together, these four major bodies of information will make possible an unusually thorough evaluation of the CSR program and its impacts. The data will also be important in considering decisions about

possible future directions for a program of this sort, in the test city and elsewhere.

Estimated Costs for the Evaluation

As proposed here, the evaluation will require a total of approximately 2,000 to 3,000 interviews, which are likely to cost in the vicinity of $150,000. In addition, costs for staff interviews will also have to be budgeted for, as well as those incurred by the observers who document program implementation and interagency coordination. A BSSR staff member should be assigned as a full-time evaluator for the duration of the project, along with research assistants as needed. Finally, the project will require funds for computer processing of data.

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